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**REFUGEES REHABILITATION AND THEIR ROLE IN SOCIO-
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN SARGODHA DIVISION,
PAKISTAN, 1947-1974**



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Abstrak

Negara Pakistan merupakan sebuah negara Islam yang terpaksa berdepan dengan isu pelarian daripada India dan peminggiran mereka dalam aspek sosial dan ekonomi. Hal ini menyebabkan Pakistan berhadapan dengan masalah keganasan sosial apabila pelarian yang datang daripada kumpulan etnik dan agama yang berbeza menetap di Pakistan selepas tahun 1947. Golongan pelarian ini terpaksa menyesuaikan diri dengan isu perbezaan dalam konteks sosioekonomi yang lebih luas. Objektif kajian ini adalah untuk mengkaji sejarah penghijrahan golongan pelarian Islam dari India ke wilayah Sargodha. Selain itu kajian ini juga meneliti kesan penghijrahan mereka secara besar-besaran dalam wilayah Sargodha. Selanjutnya kajian ini juga mengenal pasti polisi pemulihan ke atas golongan pelarian yang dilaksanakan di wilayah Sargodha. Manakala objektif yang terakhir adalah menganalisis peranan dan impak mereka dalam pembangunan sosioekonomi di wilayah Sargodha. Kajian ini menggunakan pendekatan sejarah dengan kaedah kualitatif. Data-data diperoleh melalui kajian kepustakaan dan temu bual. Kajian kepustakaan merujuk kepada rekod *British National Archives*, *British Library* di London, *National Archives Islamabad and Punjab Archives*, Bahagian Dokumentasi Kebangsaan Islamabad, Biro Statistik Persekutuan Islamabad, Institut Penyelidikan Sejarah dan Budaya Kebangsaan Islamabad serta Pejabat Penempatan Pelarian di Lahore dan Sargodha. Di samping itu kajian lapangan dijalankan melalui kaedah temu bual separa berstruktur ke atas 70 orang informer yang terdiri daripada bekas pelarian dan kumpulan pakar di wilayah Sargodha. Dapatan kajian menunjukkan masalah sosioekonomi pelarian ini adalah disebabkan oleh faktor kelemahan tadbir urus iaitu kelewatan prosedur dari segi penempatan semula mereka. Pemilihan wilayah Sargodha sebagai pusat penempatan semula menyaksikan perubahan baru dari segi pembangunan sosioekonomi dan budaya yang dimainkan oleh golongan pelarian Islam dari India ini. Kajian ini membuktikan bahawa golongan pelarian mampu memainkan peranan terhadap pembangunan sosioekonomi dan budaya di pusat penempatan semula mereka khususnya di wilayah Sargodha.

Kata kunci: Pakistan, pelarian, pemulihan, pembangunan sosioekonomi, Wilayah Sargodha

Abstract

Pakistan is one Muslim country which has long been troubled with Indian refugees from the past and their marginalization socio-economically. The historical migration exposes Pakistan to social violence from the refugees comprising of different ethnicity and religion who settled in Pakistan post 1947 separation that they had to adapt with the socio-economic differences in a broader context. Hence, this research aims to study the history of the massive migration of Muslim refugees from India into Sargodha Division. It also examines the impact of their massive migration in the Sargodha division in addition to determine rehabilitation policies which were implemented on the refugees in Sargodha and lastly to analyse the roles and impacts they had on the socio-economic development in the Sargodha Division. This research engages historical approach by way of qualitative method where data was obtained through library research and field work. The primary data were retrieved from the British National Archives, British Library UK, National Archives Islamabad, Punjab Archives, Lahore, National Documentation Wing of Islamabad, Federal Bureau of Statistic Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research Islamabad and Refugees Settlement Offices in Lahore and Sargodha. The field surveys were conducted through semi structured interviews on 70 informants consisting of refugees and expert groups in the Sargodha Division. The findings show that the socio-economic problem of the refugees was due to weaknesses in governance, particularly in the delay of procedures for resettlement. The selection of Sargodha as the resettlement center saw new changes in socio-economic development and culture played by the Muslims refugees from India. This research proves that refugees are able to function in socio-economic and cultural development at their relocation centers as evidenced in Sargodha.

Keywords: Pakistan, Refugees, Rehabilitation, Socio-Economic development, Sargodha Division.

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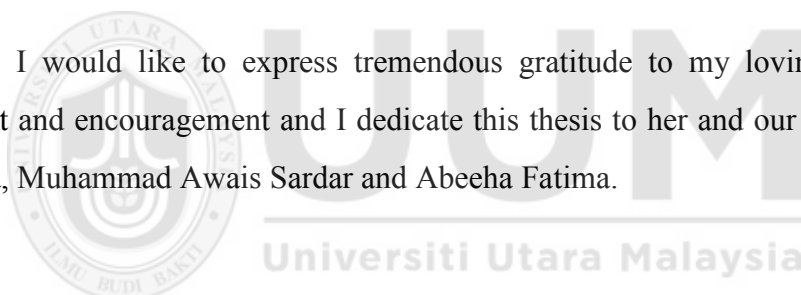


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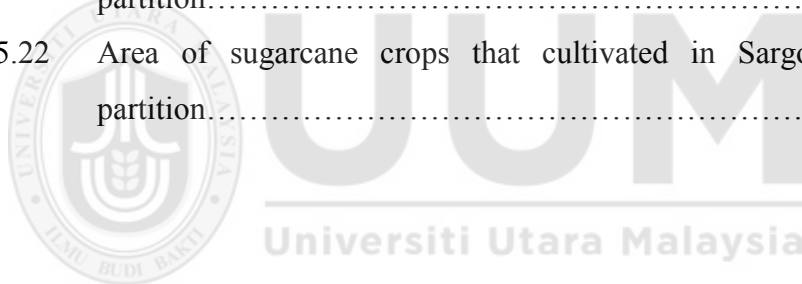


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Glossary

Bande Mataram	Literally 'Hail to thee, Mother', this is a song composed by Bankim Chandra Chatterji after the Indian Mutiny 1857. It is a traditional Hindu song which gained acceptance as the national anthem in the twentieth century, although not initially by the Muslims.
Baba-i-Qaum	Father of Nation for Pakistan
Cror	One Crorer is equal to 10 million.
Chak	Village
Dominion	A self-governing country, but linked to Britain because it recognizes the British monarch as its head of state.
East Punjab	Punjab means "The Land of Five Rivers", referring to the rivers Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej, and Beas. The province of Punjab in India is called East Punjab.
Gurdwara	Sikh temple.
Hartal	Stoppage of work as sign of mourning or protest
Eid	A Muslim religious festival or holy observance
Jagir	Grant of right to receive land revenue from a village or villages, sometimes conditional on the maintenance of troops or other services.
Jagirdar	Holder of a Jagir.
Jai Hind	Victory to India.
Jathas	Band or group.
Lathi	A heavy stick
Lakh	One hundred thousand
Mohajir	Refugees
Nankana Sahib	An historic Sikh temple, the birth-place of Guru Nanak, founder of the Sikh faith. It is situated 64 km from Lahore in Pakistan.
Quaid-i-Azam	The Great Leader

Scheduled Castes	At the lower end of the Hindu caste scale, also called the Depressed Classes, or Untouchables.
Sovereign	Absolute and independent authority.
Taccavi	Taccavi loan was a short term loan given to poor farmers to purchase seeds, fertilizers, equipment's and for other agriculture purposes. This was introduced to enhance productivity of crop cultivation and help poor farmers to increase the income. Even though the scheme majorly focused on improving the existing condition of poor farmers, the benefits were broadly utilized by rich farmers. This is why the scheme was a fail.
Tehsildar	A Tehsildar is a tax officer accompanied with Revenue inspectors. They are in charge of obtaining taxes from a Tehsil with regard to Land Revenue. A Tahsildar also known as Executive Magistrate of the tehsil concerned.
West Punjab	Punjab means "The Land of Five Rivers", referring to the rivers Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej, and Beas. The province of Punjab in Pakistan is called West Punjab.
U.P.	United Provinces, an area in the northern part of India.
Village Chowkidars	Village watchman.
Viz	Namely.
Zamindar	Farmer of revenue; landed proprietor, landlord.

List of Abbreviations

A.I.M.L	All India Muslim League
A.F.R.C	Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee
C.I.D	Central Investigation Department
C.L.O	Chief Liaison Officer
D.C.	Deputy Commissior
D.S.P	Deputy Superintend Police
D.L.O	District Liaison Officer
D.P.O	District Police Officer
F.B.R	Federal Board of Revenue
F.B.S	Pakistan Bureau of Statistic
F.I.R	First Information Report
Indo-Pak	India and Pakistan
J.D.C	Joint Defense Council
P.I.D.C	Pakistan Industrial Development Cooperation
P.L.A	Punjab Legislative Assembly
P.W.D	Public Work Department
M.L.A	Member of Legislative Assembly
M.L.N.G	Muslim League National Guards
M.E.O	Military Evacuation Organization
N.W.F.P	North West Frontier Province
N.D.W	National Documentation Wing
N.I.H.C.R	National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research
P.F.F	Punjab Boundary Force
P.P.W.D	Punjab Public Work Department

Rs.	Rupees, Currency of Pakistan and India
SDPI	Sustainable Development Policy Institute
S.S.P	Senior Superintend Police
R.S.S	Rashtriya Swayyan Sewak Sangh
R.R.F.C	Refugees Rehabilitation Finance Cooperation
T.O.P	Transfer of Power
T.M.A	Tehsil Municipal Administrator
U.P	United Province
UNCIP	The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The division of the subcontinent was an inescapable factor that prompted the development of two independent states: India and Pakistan. Both the Hindus and Muslims stayed determined to their individual patriotisms: Hindu and Muslim patriotism, separately. Attributable to the partition, both the states divided their geological lines of division. Both the states would never stir up in the wake of various religions as the lessons of Hinduism were absolutely in conflict with that of Islam. The Muslims were 'maleechs' for Hindus and the later were 'kafirs' for the previous. Besides, both the communities had a place with various societies. A solid conflict existed in their method for eating, relational unions, method for living, dialect, family units and the primary concern was the sharp distinction in honing religious customs. So, the Hindus and Muslims were bound to be at blades drawn with each other one day. History bears the declaration that they just participated with one another when the religions of the two networks were in threat. They offered consolidated obstruction against outsider powers just when their interests coordinated. More or less, they never approached each other religiously or socially. At long last, multi day came when Muslims of the Sub-Continent felt religious, political, monetary and mental instability.

By 1947, the hostility between the Hindus and Muslims had developed to such a degree, to the point that the last were not prepared to yield before the previous expect for the segment. Resultantly, the place where there is unadulterated, Pakistan, showed up on the guide of the world on 14 August 1947. Not long after the

autonomy, the procedure of vast scale movement began. Alongside various others variables of relocation, there were three primary factors behind the movement. To begin with, it was the common outcome of the parcel of the Sub-Continent. Furthermore, it was the Radcliffe that was in charge of the world biggest relocation the history at any point saw. At long last, the uproars that encompassed the entire of the Sub-Continent added to the constrained relocation. From both the sides, numerous abominations submitted with the vagrants. Notwithstanding, the Muslims transients endure significantly.

The division of India in August 1947 was the most imperative event in the subcontinent's forefront history. The event was separate by one of the greatest movements of the twentieth century, and around eighteen million people were removed. Evaluations of the death toll change from between 200,000 up to 1,000,000. More than ten million *Punjabies* were uprooted alone at division time. The Pakistan Punjab Region i.e Sargodha Region shared the brunt of the 1947 change. They persisted in all cases revolt destruction, measurement move and monetary change at the division of the Punjab. Their mechanical concerns were surrendered or closed because of the generally signify migration of the Hindu and Sikh trading and business class to India.

1.2 Formulation of Pakistan

With the genesis of Muslim period in Sub-Continent in 1206,¹ the populace of India was living together regardless of their religion race and communal variations and this

¹ Kiran, Naumana, "Class-Structure and Social Stratification in Early Muslim India (1206-1526 AD)," *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan*, 2008, pp. 169.

trend continued till 1947 when the rule of the British came to an end with the enforcement of Indian Independence Act 1947.² From 1940 to 1947,³ the subcontinent witnessed abrupt and unanticipated modifications on the account that these seven years recorded huge alterations that amended the destiny of Indians for always.

The formulation of Pakistan was an obscure dream till the 1940s. It was only after the emergence of the Pakistan Resolution on 22-24 March 1940⁴ that the subcontinent's Muslims launched a movement for the acquisition of their eventual destination.⁵ The event proved to be a turning point in the history of subcontinent and revived the notions that "man is the master of his own destiny". The idea of partition of the subcontinent dictated by the Pakistan Resolution can be summarized in the following words:-

"Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All Indian Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute

² Ahmad, Nafis, "The Indo-Pakistan Boundary Disputes Tribunal, 1949-1950," *Geographical Review*, 1953, pp. 329.

³ Moore, R. J, "Jinnah and the Pakistan Demand," *Modern Asian Studies*, 1983, pp. 529.

⁴ Langah, Nukhbah Taj, "Call for Siraiki Province," *Ottawa and Islamabad: Forum of Federations and Centre for Civic Education Pakistan*, 2011, pp. 9.

⁵ Khan, Amanullah, "Sapru Proposals and the Demand for Pakistan," *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, 2009, pp. 84.

“Independent States” in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign”.⁶

The year of 1947 remarkable success in the form of attainment of the ‘land of pure’ but the blessing was accompanied by the disguise, the surplus of refugees who lost all their belongings who settle down in this newly established country.⁷ On the account of these changes, the subcontinent recorded a deluge of problems. One of the critical troubles was that of refugee settlement. There were a number of ways to cope with these issues, but the Mountbatten’s policies marred the situation. A hundred of thousands of people were put in disturbance by the division in 1947, many of them lost their lives while others were displaced and forced to live for years as refugees.

It is no more a concealed secret that just before the creation of Pakistan, Hindu-Muslim riots spread over the vast areas of India. And it is estimated that during the process of partition about two million people including children lost their lives,⁸ about 15 million people cut off from their homes and nearly 100,000 women were raped.⁹ Specifically, the Eastern Punjab was presenting a milieu of anti-Muslim sentiments. A large massacre of Muslims took place where they were in a minority; their villages, lands, crops and articles of household were destroyed. Their women

⁶ Bianchini, Stefano, et al. *Partitions: Reshaping States and Minds*. Routledge, 2004, pp. 45.

⁷ Singh, Sukhbir, and Manmohan Singh Gill, “Social and Psychological Trauma of the Displaced: A Study of Partition of India,” *Asia-Pacific Journal of Social Sciences*, 2009, pp. 2.

⁸ Marston, Daniel P, “The Indian Army, Partition, and the Punjab Boundary Force, 1945-1947,” *War in History*, 2009, pp. 470.

⁹ Hartnack, Christiane, “Roots and Routes: The Partition of British India in Indian Social Memories,” *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 2012, pp. 244 see also Butalia, Urvashi, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India*, New Delhi: Penguin India, 1998, pp. 1-6 see also Pandey, Gyanendra, “The Long Life of Rumor,” *Alternatives*, 2002, pp. 166 and Ananya Jahanara, “Subjectivities, Memories, Loss of Pigskin Bags, Silver Spittoons and the of India,” *Interventions*, 2002, pp. 248

were stripped off and put to grave humiliation in the streets and even their children were not spared of death. The history of India bears the testimony that the Indian authorities also favoured the Indian government almost in all issues and areas.¹⁰

Adding insult to injury, the boundary commission¹¹ also desecrated the principles of fair play through its unmerited demarcation of the Punjab and Bengal. Many Muslim majority areas like Gurdaspur and Ferozepore were aligned to India.¹² All this resulted in a mass migration of Muslims coupled with the migration of Hindus and Sikhs. It is critical to note that Muslims suffered more than the other communities as their majority areas, as well as the areas contiguous to Pakistan were also entitled to India. It was a sophisticated planning of the British and Hindus in weak Pakistan from its very inception. It led to a grave humanitarian crisis where Hindus and Sikhs inflicted maximum harm to the Muslims. In this way, the latter community was obliged to join the migrating caravans towards Pakistan.

Despite facing a large number of problems in the form of refugees, the Muslims of the subcontinent were fully contented with the difficulties as the dream of a separate

¹⁰ Cheema, Pervaiz Iqbal, "The Politics of the Punjab Boundary Award," *South Asia Institute Department of Political Science Working Paper N0.1*, 2000, pp. 19.

¹¹ Boundary Commission, consultative committee created in July 1947 to recommend how the Punjab and Bengal regions of the Indian subcontinent were to be divided between India and Pakistan shortly before each was to become independent from Britain. The commission appointed by Lord Mountbatten, the last viceroy of British India consisted of four members from the Indian National Congress and four from the Muslim League and was chaired by Sir Cyril Radcliffe, Arbitral Tribunal to deal with matters arising out of the Partition of India. Proposal that Sir Cyril Radcliffe should be made a Privy Councilor and his appointment as Chairman of the Boundary Commission, File No. LCO 2/3234, The National Archives (TNA), United Kingdom (UK), 1947 see also arrangements for broadcasts by the Prime Minister and the Viceroy announcing the Transfer of Power, File No. PREM 8/551, TNA, UK, 1947, Report by Lord Mountbatten on his Viceroyalty of India, File No. DO 142/364, TNA, UK, 1947-1949 and Plan for Transfer of Power in India announcement in Parliament 3.30 pm 3 June 1947, File No. IOR: L/I/1/768, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

¹² Pervaiz Iqbal, *The Politics of...*, pp. 19.

homeland that once seemed to be unfulfilled had been materialized. Their destination was now present in front of them. They could now cherish the fruits of freedom after a long struggle. For them, “Pakistan” was a place where they could lead their life with full religious freedom in accordance with the teachings of Islam.

1.2.1 History of Two Nation Theory

The Two Nation Theory came into being with the first step of Muhammad Bin Qasim on the land of the subcontinent. In the eyes of Jinnah, the founding father of Pakistan, the concept of two nation theories originated the day, the first Hindu converted to Muslim. And he also said that “The majority community have clearly shown that Hindustan is for the Hindus” The pre-1947 Jinnah was a contentious, brilliant, and divisive Indian lawyer-politician who turned the "two nation" theory the idea that India's Muslims and Hindus constituted two separate nations,¹³ each deserving their own, separate state into an effective political movement.¹⁴

History bears the testimony that the Muslims came to India as conquerors. They ruled for centuries in the Indian subcontinent. It was after the establishment of British Empire that they lost all their conquered territories. In other words, they had lost their national pride as conquerors. To contain this psychological depression, they even joined hands with Hindus during the war of Independence in 1857 and the Khilafat Movement (1914-1920) to end the rule of British Imperialism. The growing hegemony of Hindus helped the Muslims in realizing the true face of Hindus as the

¹³ Feng, Pin-chia, “Birth of Nations: Representing the Partition of India in Bapsi Sidhwa’s *Cracking India*”, *Chang Gung Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 4, 2011, pp. 228.

¹⁴ Cohen, Stephen Philip, “The Nation and the State of Pakistan,” *Washington Quarterly*, 2002, pp. 110.

formers were working only for the welfare of their own community. The Muslims wanted their due share in the constitutional development of India. They could no longer await the Hindus to grasp their constitutional rights as the Muslims had realized that they were a separate nation. The Lahore Resolution in 1940, for the first time, conveyed the direct message to both the Hindus and Britain that the Muslims had their own way to safeguard their interests.¹⁵

Furthermore, the biased Hindu mentality was evident from the Nehru Report.¹⁶ This very report dispelled the impression that Hindus wanted complete domination over India. From this moment to onwards, there was nothing that could be called as 'Indian nationalism'. It proved to be a blessing in disguise for the Muslims. They got united and were determined to prepare a future roadmap to win the rights for their community. In a strong reply to the Nehru Report, the Muslims developed their own report marked as the famous 'Fourteen Points'.¹⁷ Till the partition, the Nehru Report

¹⁵ Lahore Resolution, File No. 1099, The National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1940 see also Adnan, Abdullah, "Pakistan: Creation and Genesis," *The Muslim World*, 2006, 201-217.

¹⁶ The report selected the Dominion Status for India remembering that it was what most of the majority in India would lean toward. Basic rights were ensured, excusing that if religious and social opportunity were given to the minority networks, it would resolve the mutual issue. There were to be two places of the Parliament, the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Senate would comprise of 200 seats, every area to be spoken to in extent to their populace while the House of Representatives would contain 500 seats and be unicameral. Both the Houses were to be chosen by general suffrage. The Muslims' interest for 33% of the seats in the Central Legislature was rejected. Separate electorates, which were the demand of the Muslims, were likewise also disposed of. The report yielded the interest that Baluchistan and NWFP ought to have indistinguishable status from some other region of India and furthermore consented to the partition of Sind from Bombay notwithstanding the dissent of the Hindus of Sind, Nehru, M, "The Nehru Report: The Committee Appointed by the All Parties Conference," (1928), Michiko & Panjathan, 1975, pp. 12 see also Wolpert, Stanley, *Gandhi's Passion: The Life and Legacy of Mahatma Gandhi*, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 132.

¹⁷ So as to counter the recommendations made in the Nehru Report, Jinnah introduced his proposition as Fourteen Points, demanding that no plan for the future constitution of the administration of India will be agreeable to the Muslims until and except if stipulations were made to safe watchman their interests, Jinnah, Mahomed Ali. *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*. Vol. 1. SM Ashraf, 1947, pp. 45.

and the Fourteen Points remained the guiding principles of Hindus and Muslims, respectively. Both the communities remained stuck to their respective agendas.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal's¹⁸ declared at the historic annual session of the All India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930 as I might want to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P), Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamate into a solitary state. Self-government inside or without the British domain and the development of united North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the last fate of the Muslim at any rate of North West of India, stood out enough to be noticed.¹⁹ A young Cambridge student, Chaudhri Rehmat Ali²⁰ proposed that the name of the new state should reflect its different regions. Pakistan would be included all the Muslim larger part areas in the North West: 'P' for Punjab, 'A' for 'Afghan' (the 'Afghan' Pathans of the NWFP), 'K' for Kashmir, 'S' for Sindh and 'B' for Baluchistan.²¹

All India Muslim Conference was conveyed in New Delhi in April 1931 that passed a resolution. The Conference concluded the following demands: the vesting of residual powers in the provinces; separation of Sindh from Bombay; introduction of

¹⁸ Allama Iqbal (1877-1938) was without a doubt one of the best artists, savants and diviners of humankind everything being equal. He took an unmistakable part in the governmental issues of the nation and in the scholarly and social recreation of the Islamic world. His commitment to the writing and thought of the world will live forever. He is the national poet of Pakistan. Taillieu, Dieter, et al. *A Descriptive Bibliography of Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938)*, Vol. 94, Peeters Publishers, 2000, pp. 11.

¹⁹ Shani, Giorgio, “‘Two Nations’,” *International Affairs*, 2007, pp. 71.

²⁰ Chaudhry Rehmat Ali (1897-1951) was a Pakistani Punjabi Muslim. Choudhry Rahmat Ali was one of the soonest backers of the formation of the province of Pakistan. Rahmat Ali a Pakistani Muslim patriot is commonly perceived as the maker of the name “Pakistan” for a different Muslim, country in South Asia and is known as the originator of the Pakistan National Movement. Ali was conceived in November 1895 into a Gujjar Muslim family in a District of Indian Punjab, Aziz, Khursheed Kamal, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, Coronet Books, 1987, pp. 10.

²¹ Ideology of Pakistan, File No. 1180, The National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1947, pp. 1-2.

constitutional reforms in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan; independent voters; provision of rights in constitution making; legal protection for the public; adequate representation of the Muslim in ministries; proportional representation in public services and introduction of province-led amendments in the constitution.²² Earlier, Mr. Muhammad Iqbal's address to the Muslim League in December 1930 also put forward almost the same demands as did the All India Muslim Conference as stated above. All these proceedings reflect that Muslim nationalism was in the need of a strong impetus in order to substantiate its territorial view point.²³

Muslims kept on claiming that the provinces should be granted the largest financial, administrative and legislative autonomy. In addition, they asked for one-third seats in the proposed federal government of British India although they needed a slight increase in the proportion required for this purpose. This was one of the most effective tools in securing the rights of Muslims. Except this, no other options were available to ensure the necessary seats in the central legislature. They also wanted their due share in the public services in the provincial governments.²⁴

In the Act of 1935, Hindu monotheism prevailed, especially in the federal legislature. Muslims opposed its composition, because for them, a strong center was meant an increase in the strength of Hindus. They opposed any idea of strong center that had the power to intervene in the provinces of crime management. Muslims feared that

²² Prasad, Rajendra. *India Divided*. Penguin Books, India, 2010, pp. 134.

²³ Jalal, Ayesha. *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 13.

²⁴ Ibid.

this will enable a cabinet in the center of the Congress government to paralyze the provinces where Muslims were enjoying majority. The Muslim League found that the federal plan was “fundamentally bad”. They found that the plan of establishing strong center was the most reactionary, retrograde, harmful and deadly and thus, they rejected it. However, they were committed to work with the provincial part of the constitution. Ultimately, Pakistan Resolution surfaced as a reaction to the government of India Act, 1935 that favoured strong center. The same Resolution was also a part to settle the accounts with the Hindus as it was also a reply to the ruthless atrocities committed by the Congress ministries from 1937 to 1939. Pakistan Resolution on 23 March 1940 was a mile stone towards Pakistan.²⁵

Despite living together for centuries, Hindus and Muslims never became one. Their caste, religion, language, culture and values might have gained influence but they never merged together; they remained separate and distinguished. In fact, the non-Muslim especially the Hindus community had always been versus who do not follow them, whom they consider *maleech*²⁶ or unclean. So they were worst enemies of such people, what to speak of inter-marriage, a Hindu was often disallowed for eating, drinking or even shake hand with a Muslim. In short the Hindu customs and their hatred for Muslims were the main factors against in developing a working relationship between the two major societies”. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, mentioned in

²⁵ Ali, Rabia Umar. *Partition of the Indian Subcontinent: Planning and Implementation*, Doctoral Dissertation, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 2009, pp. 36.

²⁶ Maleech is one of the very low grade people in India, from the eleventh to twentieth century, the Muslims and later on the English marked the Hindus as ethnically substandard, not deserving of equivalent status. It is an incongruity that the Hindu subjects, out of their bizaree standing predominance, considered the Muslims and English as Maleeches (lower beings), Bhatnagar, Satish C. *My Hindu Faith and Periscope*. Volume 1. Trafford Publishing, 2012, pp. 108 Moreover, Mech is almost certainly a corruption of the Sanskrit word melchaa i.e. an outcast from the Brahmin point of view, a non observer of caste regulations” see also Kamal Narayan Choudhury, *Folklore in North-Eastern India*: Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 2001, pp. 234.

an annual session of Muslim League that It is very evident that Hindus and Musalmans get their motivation from various wellsprings of history. They have distinctive stories, their saints are extraordinary, and they have diverse scenes. Regularly the saint of one is an adversary of the other, and in like manner, their triumphs and annihilations cover. To burden together two such countries under a solitary state, one as a numerical minority and alternate as a larger part, must prompt developing discontent and the last pulverization of any texture that might be so developed for the administration of such a state.²⁷

Meanwhile, the Cabinet Mission plan 1946 devised by the British government dispelled the impression that it was strongly willing to reconcile with the irreconcilable parties. Hindu wanted to have a single constitution making body, while the Muslims desired two separate constitution making bodies, one for Hindustan and one for Pakistan.²⁸ However, it was an evil design of the British diplomacy whose sole agenda was to avoid the inevitable division and it was the last attempt of the British government to resist the efforts of foundation of Pakistan.²⁹ It was, in fact, an attempt to bury the concept of Pakistan deep under the debris of Indian Nationalism and united India.³⁰ Finally, Quaid-i-Azam, addressing to a Muslims reporter on 12 March 1947, said:-

²⁷ Jinnah, Mahomed Ali, *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah. Vol. 1*, Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1960, pp. 25.

²⁸ Parliamentary Debates (HANSARD), House of Lords, Official Report (Unrevised), Volume 142 No. 118, Thursday, 18 July 1946, pp. 582.

²⁹ "Critical Hours in Indian's History", *The Times*, 18 May 1946, pp. 8.

³⁰ Political Situation in India, File No. CAB 21/2042, The National Archives (TNA), United Kingdom (UK), 1945-1946.

“There is no common ground for cooperation between our ideology, our goal and our basis of fundamental principles. These are in conflict with those of the Hindu organizations. Let me tell you this, there is no other solution which will credit and bring honour to your people. Insha’Allah, we shall have Pakistan”.³¹

The Lahore Resolution, normally known as the Pakistan Resolution was a political goals, held at Minto Park (now Iqbal Park), in Lahore, by Maulvi Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq between 22nd to 24th March 1940, by the 25-part Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, and afterward formally received by the Muslim League enrollment at its general session on 23 March 1940, held at Lahore. This goal requested more prominent Muslim self-governance inside British India.

1.2.2 United India Theory

However, there is also a theory of “United India” as the Nehru; premier Prime Minister of India also admitted that “we expected that the partition would be temporary, that Pakistan was bound to come back to us”.³² Molana Abul Kalam Azad³³ also expressed as “The division is only on the map of the country and not in the hearts of the people, and I am sure it is going to be a short lived partition”.³⁴ The

³¹ Rabbani, Abdul, *Jinnah Through My Eyes*, Lahore: Ferozson, 2010, pp. 108.

³² Roy, Asim, “The High Politics of India's Partition: The Revisionist Perspective the High Politics of India's Partition: The Revisionist Perspective,” *Modern Asian Studies*, 1990, pp. 404.

³³ Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958) was a standout amongst the most compelling autonomy activists amid India's freedom struggle. He was likewise a prominent essayist, artist and writer. He was a noticeable political pioneer of the Indian National Congress and was chosen as Congress President in 1923 and 1940. In spite of being a Muslim, Azad frequently remained against the radicalizing arrangements of other noticeable Muslims pioneers like Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Azad was the principal instruction priest of autonomous India. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was after death granted 'Bharat Ratna', India's most elevated regular citizen respect, in 1992, Azad, Maulana Abdul Kalam. *India Wins Freedom: An Autobiographical Narrative*. Orient Longmans, 1959, pp. xii.

³⁴ Leader, “Quoted Mehrotra,” *Congress and Partition*, 1947, pp. 220.

All India Congress Committee rejected the Pakistan Resolution explaining as “It cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will”.³⁵ Jinnah's whole struggle was the demand of Pakistan and it was cleared that this assumption was totally against the Congress till the end of the day, Congress wished to fully accommodate Jinnah's demands and prevent him for the calamity of Mother India's dismemberment.³⁶

1.3 Problem Statement

The subcontinent's partition was not an ordinary event. It is noteworthy that it was the greatest movement of the twentieth century. In addition to it, it is equally noteworthy that this migration marked the greatest violence the history ever witnessed. It was the province of Punjab that was gone through maximum violence “three-quarters of a million killed”, and it had been estimated that more than ten million Punjabis were uprooted from their homelands.³⁷

According to an estimate after the declaration of boundaries 12-15 million ‘exiles’ were forcibly transferred between the India and Pakistan in order to settle down permanently on the basis provided by Two-Nation theory hence these ‘exiles’ took refuge under their new homelands either be India or Pakistan changing their status from ‘exiles’ to ‘refugees’. This religious delirium caused the deaths of 2 million

³⁵ Leader, Quoted Mehrotra..., pp. 132.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 405

³⁷ Chatterji, Joya, “Partition Studies: Prospects and Pitfalls,” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 2014, pp. 310.

Muslims and non-Muslims. At least 75,000 women were raped.³⁸ As a result, all the rural and urban areas in the Punjab were overwhelmingly modified by the demographic disruption. Taking into account the process of rehabilitation of these refugees in accordance with their pre-requisites witnessed a vast series of problems. One of the Pakistan's Punjab Divisions, Sargodha, richly fertile land located in Punjab, also bore the brunt of the 1947's turmoil. The process for the settlement of these refugees commenced from 1947. After the evacuation of non-Muslims, simultaneous movement of Muslims got accelerated from East Punjab. Settlement of refugees started all over the Punjab; many refugees were sent to Sargodha division for their settlement. Sargodha division has four district Sargodha itself, Khushab, Mianwali and Bhakkar district in the province of Pakistani Punjab.

The number of Muslim refugees that Sargodha received was twice the number of non-Muslims who evacuated it. Sargodha received refugees, mainly from the Jullundur, Ambala, Ludhiana and district Karnal of Ambala Division of East Punjab (India).³⁹ A series of hurdles complicated the process of Muslim refugee's settlement, chalking out these hurdles highlighted the lack of accommodation as well as employment. In the case of the availability of employment to them, they were not skilled enough to earn a livelihood. With the arrival of refugees in Sargodha division, they have played their crucial role in the social and economic life of Sargodha. The following figure shows Sargodha division including district Sargodha itself,

³⁸Ahmed, Ishtiaq, "The 1947 Partition of India: A Paradigm for Pathological Politics in India and Pakistan," *Asian ethnicity*, 2002, pp. 9.

³⁹Advocate, Muhammad Hayat, *Tehrik-e-Pakistan or Sargodha Ki Yadain* (in Urdu), Lahore: Khalid Printing Press, 1984, pp. 77.

Khushab, Mianwali and Bhakkar. The capital of Pakistan's province Punjab, Lahore with Capital of Pakistan, Islamabad is also clearly exhibited.

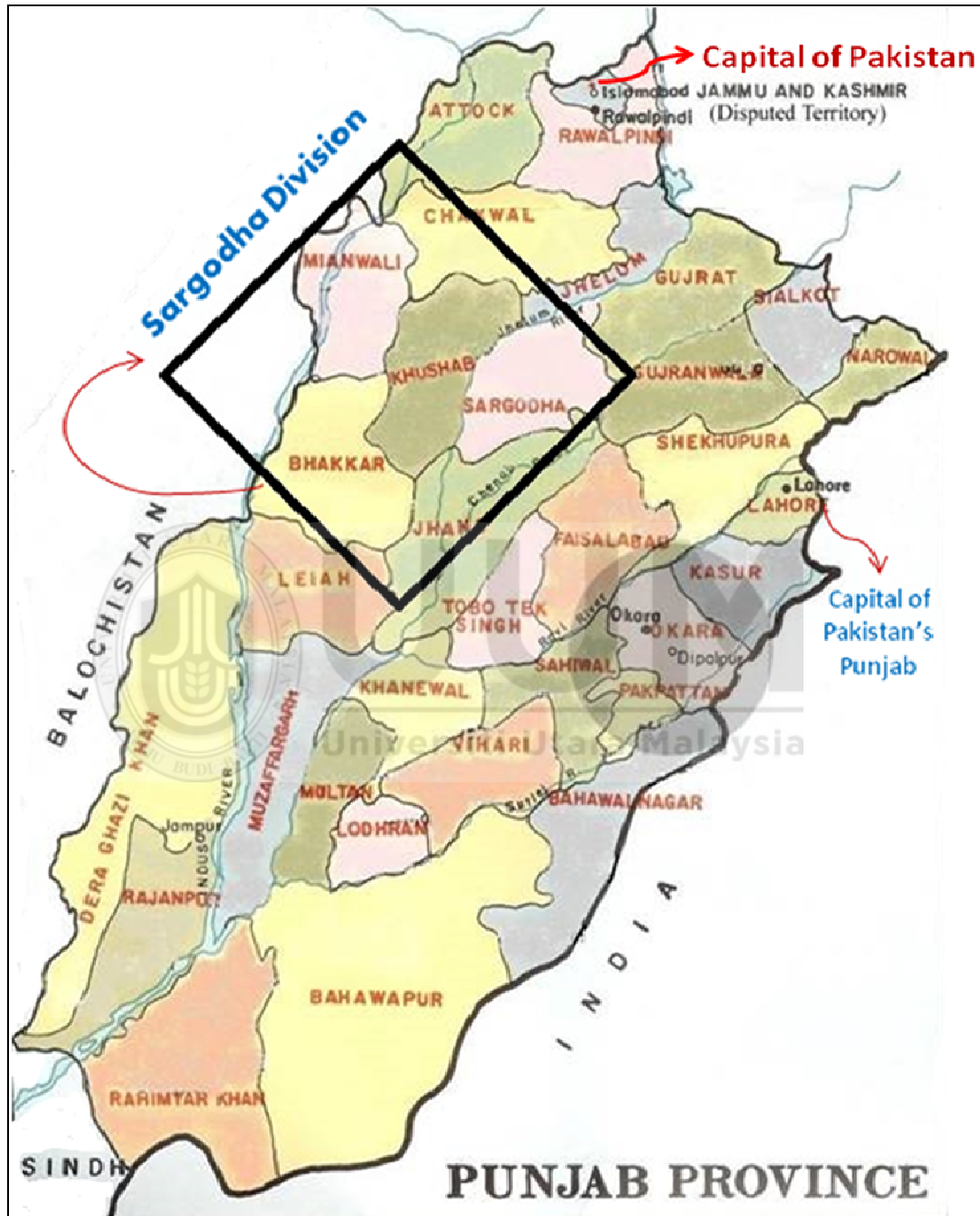


Figure 1.1. Map of Sargodha division, 1998.

Source:- File No. R-Map-1, Office of the Regional Police Officer (RPO), Sargodha division, 1998, pp. 1.

1.4 Research Questions

The fundamental questions this research intends to provide answers to are the following.

1. What was the reason behind the mass movement of Muslim refugees from India towards newly born state Pakistan?
2. What was the effect of refugee's influx in Sargodha division?
3. On what pattern the government of Pakistan rehabilitates refugees and what the local people played their role in refugee's rehabilitation in Sargodha division?
4. What's the role played by refugees in the development of Sargodha and what were the contributions of refugees on the social and economic development of Sargodha division?

1.5 Research Objective

The primary purpose behind this research is to explore the adequate answers of following research questions;

1. To study the reason behind the mass movement of refugees towards Pakistan.
2. To examine the effect of Refugee's influx in Sargodha division.
3. To determine the rehabilitation policies that was implemented in Sargodha.
4. To analyse the refugee's role and impact in the development of Sargodha.

1.6 The Importance of Study

The study possesses great worth in respect of the background of making of Pakistan following the settlement of refugees. A bulk of material has been available relate to the partition of Pakistan either written by Indian, Pakistani or other intellectuals but the important aspect, the reason behind the mass movement of Muslim Refugees has not yet explored widely. As the current study is related to the settlement of refugees then it is important to know the reason behind the mass movement which further creates many difficulties for their settlement.

Whenever we think about the creation of Pakistan then we can't ignore the riots during the partition of India. A million of people including children lost their life only due to the tension between Hindus and Muslim. This study is not only highlighting the riots but also explore the reason behind these riots. Hopefully, this study reflects a new dimension in respect of riots, either pre or post partition, which will open the new thinking for the researcher in respect of partition of India.

This study is very important in respect of Sargodha because there are three types of people living in Sargodha i.e. the people who live here near the river bank before the establishment of Sargodha. When the new irrigation system was established in Sargodha in 1903⁴⁰ by the government to develop Sargodha, local people shifted here from Sialkot, Gujrat and Gujranwala and at the last the Refugees who came here after the partition of Pakistan so, it is discussing the different social and cultural values.

There are above three different classes in Sargodha and after a great time about 71 years passed (1947-2018), but they have still a gap between refugees and local people. The refugees are still alien to the local in some places. This study is not only aim at highlighting the important historical aspects of Sargodha, rehabilitation but also discuss the gap between local and refugees. No doubt this study will be a masterpiece of work and this can apply to other states of Pakistan.

Several books have been published with reference to the history of Sargodha which is written in the bibliography. But the most important aspect the refugees', their

⁴⁰ Samdani, Rais Ahmed, and Rubina Bhatti, "Sargodha University Library: A Case Study," *Pakistan Library & Information Science Journal*, 2010, pp. 2.

rehabilitation, their role in the development of Sargodha have yet not been explored, because after the arrival of refugees and evacuation of non-Muslims from Sargodha, Sargodha entered into a new era. Moreover, Sargodha division's population is mostly consisting of rural areas. They have still limited resources for development.

In this study, we analyse that why the Sargodha division is under development even today. Books on the history of Sargodha like "History of Sargodha" by Professor Sahibzada M. Abdul Rasool⁴¹ "Sarameen Sargodha" by Sheikh Muhammad Hayyat⁴² and so on are available, but all such books have lacked an important element of refugee's rehabilitation in Sargodha division.

The history of Sargodha drives its roots and recognition from the arrival of Muslim refugees. The other cities of Pakistan like Faisalabad, Multan, Gujranwala, Sialkot etc more or less, continued to develop like Sargodha division after the partition. However, the refugees in Sargodha division, their settlement, their problems and the remedies of their problems have never been explored. In the same way, their services and contributions rendered for the cause of Pakistan have never been studied. In this study, the areas of refugee settlement, their genesis, their problems and their contribution to the national development is grossly covered. Their impacts, both constructive and destructive, have also been evaluated.

This study aims to disgorge the impact of partition and its aftermath on the Pakistan Punjab Division Sargodha. This study has also penetrated into the patterns of

⁴¹ Rasul, Sahibzada Abdul, *The History of Sargodha*, Sargodha: University of Sargodha, 2006, pp. 19.

⁴² Hayat, Sheikh Muhammad, *Sar Zameen e Sargodha* (in Urdu), Lahore: Molvi Shoukat Printer, 2003, pp. 21.

violence (pre and post partition), refugee resettlement and socio-economic development by means of a detailed study of the Pakistani province Punjab's Sargodha division.

Migration and settlement now become an international issue. Many families have to move from one country to another on the basis of different issues. The findings of this study also aim to develop a new process that how the process of migration and settlement should be tackled in future. This study has also aim to contribute to the nation strategic agenda. The current study is based on the humanity and also highlights the social values and issues that hopefully increase the living standard.

1.7 Limitation of Study

The research is remained restricted to the partition of India, movement of refugees, their settlement, their rehabilitation and furthers their impact in Sargodha. There are many reasons to choose Sargodha for studying:-

1. Firstly, in Sargodha, the partition-related violence either pre or post was very low level in Sargodha. The Muslims and non-Muslims people had a good relationship with each other and due to this, the migrated people had a minor space to adjust with local people.
2. Secondly, mass movement of refugees towards Sargodha and Sargodha received double of the numbers of refugees who left Sargodha.
3. Thirdly, Sargodha is consisting of mostly rural areas. The people are mostly agriculturist. There was a big demographic and economic change in Sargodha because most of the non-Muslims who migrated towards India were running

their own business while on the other side the Muslim refugees were mostly related to agricultural fields.

4. Fourthly, a gap between local and refugee people still exist even after the 71 years of partition.
5. Fifthly, Sargodha has four districts i.e. Sargodha, Khushab, Mianwali and Bhakkar which have also the historical background.
6. Sixthly, in Sargodha, there are three kinds of peoples. Firstly, the people residing near the rivers before the establishment of Sargodha. Secondly, the people who shifted here from different cities like Gujranwala, Sialkot, Gujrat due to the government policies and thirdly, the migrated peoples who migrate from India due to partition. So there is a big scope to study the different cultures in Sargodha and also their impact on each other.
7. This study is inviting a unique comparative case study for examining the changes and challenges arising from the partition in the Pakistan context.
8. The period started from 1947 because the Pakistan has its independence on 14 August 1947 and the concluded period is 1974 which is chosen very carefully. Because after the establishment of Pakistan, for the settlement of refugees government created settlement branch, all the evacuated property (moveable or unmoveable) left by Hindu or Sikh (non-Muslims) was kept under this department, but after passing “The Evacuee Property and Displaced person Laws (Repeal) Act, 1975” which is effected on the first day of July 1974 quoted that all the records were transferred to “Board of the Revenue of the Province”. So, it seems that the settlement process was

completed under this Act and all the record was kept by the Board of Revenue (Act, 1975).

9. As the researcher (being Pakistani citizen) have security concerns regarding the data collection of a controversial matter of grave intensity among the two rival countries i.e. India and Pakistan. To analyze the Indian stance, The National Archives, United Kingdom and The British Library, United Kingdom has been accessed which supported the relevant material.
10. In 1982, on various administrative grounds Khushab was separated from Sargodha Tehsil. Likewise Bhakkar was separated from Mianwali and gained the status of separate districts under Sargodha division. In order to understand clearly the socio-economic development of Sargodha it is important to visualize the new map that was officially generated after census of 1998. Though the current timeframe border the year 1974 but for the clarity of evidence Maps of Sargodha, Khushab, Mianwali and Bhakkar are taken from the census of 1998.

1.8 Theoretical Concept

When the social scientists come to the migration phenomenon, then there is no even a single theory with respect to its inherent nature which is interdisciplinary. Migration involves political science, economics, law, demography, sociology, geography, psychology and cultural studies⁴³ and by theoretically or empirically each discipline has its own facts and figures. As the anthropologists look at transnational

⁴³ Brettell, Caroline B., and James F. Hollifield, "Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines," *Routledge*, 2014, pp. 12.

and networks communities, the economists and sociologists draw our attention towards the social and human capital, geographers divert us in the spatial dimensions of migration, political scientists have an eye in the making of public policy and according to lawmakers migration has its impact on sovereignty and citizenship.

While historians portray the refugees experience over time and in all its complexity giving us a much greater empathetic understanding of the hopes and ambitions of those who move from one place to another.⁴⁴ Thus, sociology has borrowed the concepts of 'human capital' from economics, and 'transnational spaces' from geography; economics has borrowed concepts of 'institutions' and 'network' from sociology; political science has borrowed 'systems' and 'structure' from sociology. These spillovers can enrich research in the respective fields.⁴⁵

1.9 Definition of the Migration

Migration is widely defined permanent or semi permanent change of residence no restriction is placed upon the distance of movement, voluntary or involuntary, the nature of the act and no distinction made between external or internal migration.⁴⁶ There are four factors methods the migration phenomena. First is the origin factor. Second is the destination factor. Third is the intervening obstacle and fourth is the personal factor.⁴⁷ A number of terms were used in both administrative and popular discourses for partition related refugees. These included displaced persons, migrants

⁴⁴ Brettell, "Migration Theory...", pp. 12.

⁴⁵ Boswell, Christina, "Combining Economics and Sociology in Migration Theory," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2008, pp. 550.

⁴⁶ Lee, Everett S, "A Theory of Migration," *Demography*, 1966, pp. 49.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 50.

and refugees. The Urdu, Punjabi and Hindi words for refugees are *mohajir* and *panahgeer*.

1.9.1 Definition of the Refugees

When somebody has been forced to escape his or her state due to mistreatment, war or brutality he/she is termed as “refugee”. Refugee has established dread of abuse for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political sentiment or participation in a specific social gathering. Thus they can't return home or are reluctant to do as such. War and ethnic, ancestral and religious savagery are driving reasons for refugees escaping their countries. Another definition of refugee suggest that “a person who has fled his home or native country and who does not wish to return, at least not to the circumstances that caused his flight”.⁴⁸

Worldwide Relief Agencies characterize refugees as evacuated individuals who can't turn to their government for security. The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences characterizes “a refugee as any person who under stress of force majeure has left his home and become dependent on the hospitality of others”.⁴⁹ It can likewise characterize as “the Refugees are persons fleeing armed conflict or persecution”.⁵⁰ Refugees are stated clearly according to Article 1 of the 1951 Refugee Convention as “Any person owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is

⁴⁸ Mandal, Monika. *Settling the Unsettled: A Study of Partition Refugees in West Bengal*. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, 2011, pp. 27

⁴⁹ Seligman, Charles Gabriel, *Egypt and Negro Africa: A study in Divine Kingship*, Taylor & Francis, 1934, pp. 200-205.

⁵⁰ <https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556> retrieved on 16 February 2019.

outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country or who not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return.⁵¹ The 1951 UN Refugee Convention along with the 1967 Protocol is still the most important and the only universal instrument of international refugee law.⁵² However, the refugees generated by the partition of India could not fall within the parameter of the international refugee protection and hence could not avail any benefit.⁵³

In order to secure the rights of refugees and to give the international protection which refugees require by their very circumstance during twentieth century a collection of universal displaced person law has progressively created. International conventions have given the fundamental wellspring of this law. The primary endeavor to detail a general meaning of “refugee” was made in 1933 in the Convention Relating to the International Status of Refugees.⁵⁴ The most often invoked definition of refugee comes from two significant international conventions: the 1951 International Convention on the Status of Refugees the “1951 Convention”⁵⁵ and the 1967 Protocol on the Status of Refugees the “1967 Protocol”. The two characterize

⁵¹ Commentary on the Refugee Convention 1951 Articles 2-11, 13-37 Published by the Division of International Protection of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 1997, pp. 23, <https://www.unhcr.org/3d4ab5fb9.pdf> retrieved on 16 February 2019.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Commentary on the Refugee Convention 1951 Articles 2-11, 13-37 Published by the Division of International Protection of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 1997, pp. 23 <https://www.unhcr.org/3d4ab5fb9.pdf> retrieved on 16 February 2019.

⁵⁴ Hyndman, Patricia, “The 1951 Convention Definition of Refugee: An appraisal with particular reference to the case of Sri Lankan Tamil applicants,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 1987, pp. 49.

⁵⁵ https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetailsII.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=V2&chapter=5&Tempmtdsg2&clang=_en retrieved on 16 February 2019.

“refugee” as a person “who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.”⁵⁶ In the case of a person who has more than one nationality, the term “the country of his nationality” shall mean each of the countries of which he is a national, and a person shall not be deemed to be lacking the protection of the country of his nationality if, without any valid reason based on well-founded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of one of the countries of which he is a national.⁵⁷ There are a few inter-related terms used in conjunction with “refugees” to understand the difference of terms we should explain all.

1.9.2 Definition of the Migrant

“Migrant” is also a closely related term used for the persons who change their native country. However there is no formal or legal definition of “migrant”. Generally those individuals who have changed their national residence without acquiring the new legal status and irrespective of the fears of migration, it also depends upon the period of stay with three to twelve months are temporary migrations, however a long term stay or a permanent settlement with a period of stay more than one year that refer to the to a change of country of residence.⁵⁸ Migrants move not due to an immediate danger of mistreatment or death, however principally to enhance their lives by looking for some kind of employment, or in some cases for education, family

⁵⁶ Gunning, Isabelle R. “Expanding the International Definition of Refugee: A Multicultural View,” *Fordham International Law Journal*, 1989, pp. 36.

⁵⁷ <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/instree/v1crs.htm> retrieved on 16 February 2019.

⁵⁸ <https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/definitions> retrieved on 16 February 2019.

gathering, or different reasons. Not at all like refugees who can't securely return home, have migrants faced no such hindrance to return. On the off chance that they return home, they will keep on getting the security of their government.⁵⁹

For individual governments, this discrimination is important. Nations manage migrants under their very own migration laws and procedures. Countries manage refugees through standards of refugee protection and asylum that are characterized in both national enactment and international law. Nations have explicit obligations towards anybody looking for shelter on their territories or at their borders. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)⁶⁰ enables countries to manage their shelter and outcast security duties. Along these lines, at UNHCR we state refugees and migrants when alluding to developments of individuals via sea or in different conditions where we figure the two groups might be present– boat movements in Southeast Asia are another example. “We say ‘refugees’ when we mean people fleeing war or persecution across an international border. And we say ‘migrants’ when we mean people moving for reasons not included in the legal definition of a refugee. We hope that others will give thought to doing the same. Choices about words do matter”.⁶¹

⁵⁹ <https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/definitions> retrieved on 16 February 2019.

⁶⁰ UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency, is a worldwide association committed to saving lives, securing rights and building a superior future for refugees, persuasively displaced person and stateless individuals, <https://www.unhcr.org/en-my/about-us.html> retrieved on 19 February 2019.

⁶¹ <https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556> retrieved on 16 February 2019.

1.9.3 Definition of the Displaced Persons

The term “displaced persons” was in the immediate post-Second World War period was used to define people “who had been removed or deported from their homes as a result of war, more particularly those Allied nationals who were removed from their homes as forced labour”.⁶² According to the UNHCR “The term “displaced person” applies to a person who, has been deported from, or has been obliged to leave, his country of nationality or of former habitual residence, such as persons who were compelled to undertake forced labour or who were deported for racial, religious or political reasons”.⁶³

Immediately after the partition of India, when the mass exodus was going on in full swing in the newly born state Pakistan, the government of Pakistan defined the term ‘displaced person’ means any person who, on account of the setting up of the dominions of India and Pakistan, or on account of civil disturbances or the fear of such disturbances in any area now forming part of West Pakistan, has after the first day of March 1947 left or been displaced from, his place of residence in such area and who has been subsequently residing in India, and includes any person who is resident in any place now forming part of India and who for that reasons is unable or has been rendered unable to manage, supervise or control any immovable property

⁶² Mandal, Monika. *Settling the Unsettled: A Study of Partition Refugees in West Bengal*. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, 2011, pp. 27

⁶³ <https://www.unhcr.org/excom/bgares/3ae69ef14/refugees-displaced-persons.html> retrieved on 16 February 2019.

belonging to him in West Pakistan, and also includes the successors-in-interest of any such person.⁶⁴

1.9.4 Definition of the Mohajir

The word ‘*mohajir*’ was originally used to describe the followers of Prophet Muhammad (PBUP) who embraced Islam and faced religious persecution in Mecca.⁶⁵ However in Pakistan, the *mohajir*⁶⁶ are Muslim, of multi-ethnic cause, and their relatives, who moved from different locales of India after the birth of Pakistan in 1947.⁶⁷ Although a large number of them talk distinctive dialects at the local dimension, they are fundamentally distinguished as local Urdu speakers and thus are called Urdu-speaking individuals. The term *mohajirs* generally referred to those Muslim refugees from India who settled in urban Sindh after the partition of India.⁶⁸ Moreover, defined by the census of Pakistan, 1951, “A ‘*mohajir*’ is a person who has moved into Pakistan as a result of partition or for the fear of disturbances connected therewith”.⁶⁹ It is also described that the Indian Muslim who migrated to Pakistan divided into various ethnic groups such as Gujratis, Punjabis, Memons and others, it

⁶⁴ Latif, M, *The Displaced Person (Land Settlement) Act, 1958*. Lahore: Imran Law Book house, 2013, pp. 9.

⁶⁵ Tan, Tai Yong, *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia*, Vol. 3, Psychology Press, 2000, pp. 234.

⁶⁶ *Daily Express*, 20 April 2017, pp. 12. Javed Chaudary in his Colum “*Faisaly Ka Waqt a Gya Ha*” has described the different social factor in the Pakistan. In his column he also described that the people who migrated from India during the partition still know themselves as “*mohajir*”. The word ‘*muhajir*’ was originally used to describe the followers of Prophet Muhammad (PBUP) who embraced Islam and `faced religious persecution in Mecca see also Tan, Tai Yong, *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia*, Vol. 3, Psychology Press, 2000, pp. 234.

⁶⁷ “The Evolution of Muhajir Politics and Identity”, *Dawn*, 20 April 2014, pp. 11.

⁶⁸ Javaid Rehman, *The Weaknesses in the International Protection of Minority Rights*, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2000, pp. 215

⁶⁹ Khan, Fouzia Rehman, and Fehmida Manzoor, “The Mohajir Identity in Pakistan: The Natives' Perspective,” *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 2018, pp. 14.

was the Urdu-speaking people from north India, especially the United Provinces and Bihar who came to be known as “*mohajirs*”.⁷⁰

1.9.5 Definition of the Panahgeer

The term *panahgeer* is also used for the refugees who came from India to Pakistan;⁷¹ they were taunted with the term, sometimes called *panahgeer* (the one who seeks shelter).⁷² It is fact that they were not *panahgeer* (seeking shelter) who could not go back to their native place after the partition of 1947.⁷³

Thus these definitions clearly identify the difference of term “refugee” as well as “migrant”, “displaced person”, “*mohajir*” and “*panahgeer*”. According to the gravity of thesis the term “refugee” seems fit to the displaced people who had left India or Pakistan to seek refuge into new homeland Pakistan of India and they could not return back to their previous nationalities due to fear and the rejection by the governmental support. Hence we will use the term “refugee” for the further description of displaced or exiles or any interrelated term to avoid the complexities.

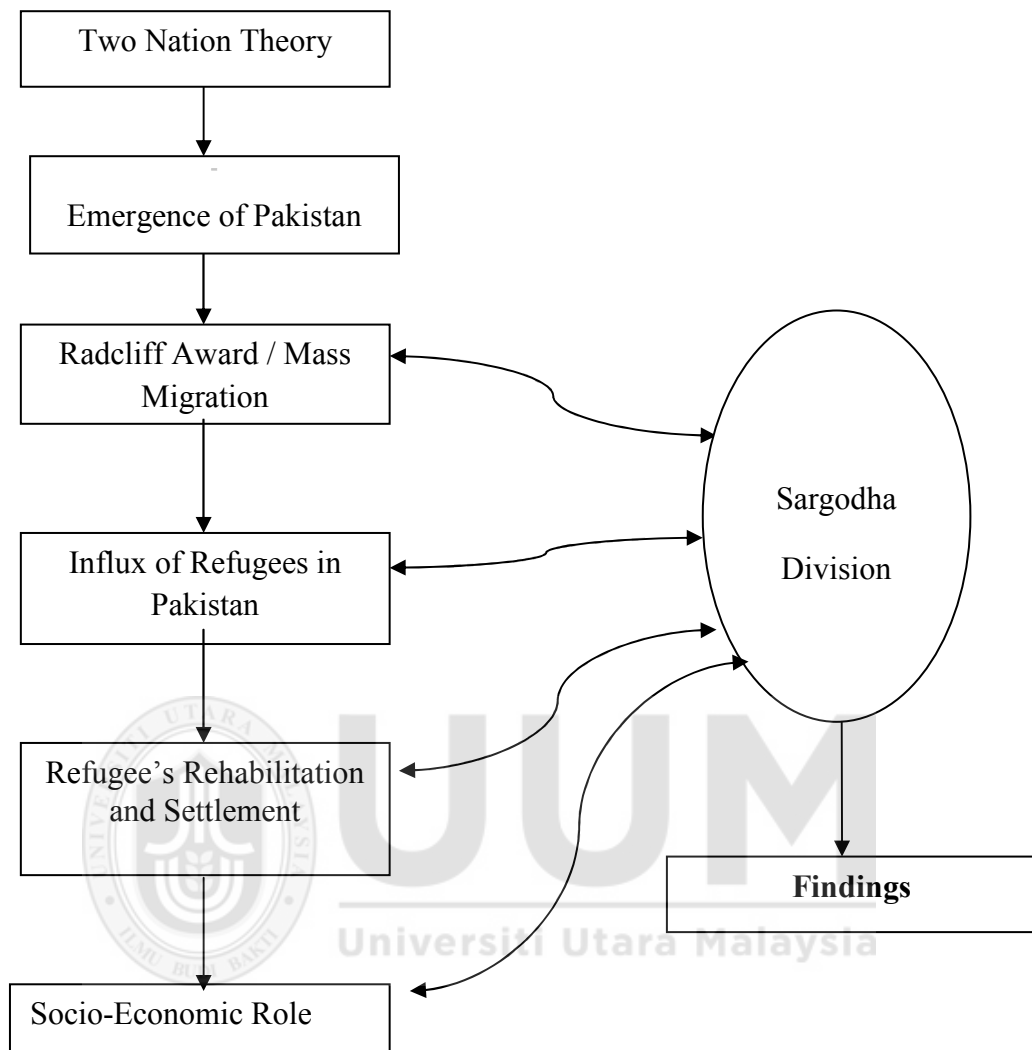
⁷⁰ Khan, Adeel, “Mohajir Ethnic Nationalism in Pakistan: El Dorado Gone Sour,” *Asian Studies Review*, 2004, pp. 41.

⁷¹ Trkkaya, Atav, *Kashmir and Neighbours: Tale, Terror, Truce: Tale, Terror, Truce*. Routledge, 2017, pp. 105

⁷² Kaur, Ravinder, “The Second Migration: Displacement and Refugees from Rawalpindi during Partition,” *JPS*, 2007, pp. 109.

⁷³ Banerjee, Himadri, “The Other Sikhs: Sikhs of Manipur in Twentieth Century,” *Sikh Formations*, 2012, pp. 100.

1.10 Theoretical Framework



1.11 Literature Review

This research has taken account of a subject which is not researched so far; therefore, present study can be considered as a primary effort in this connection. There are some published data available which is relevant to this study. As this study is mainly based on the refugees, rehabilitation, role and impact on the society, so for this the following literature has been classified into four sections i.e partition and mass migration of refugees, effect of partition, rehabilitation of refugees and Sargodha division.

1.11.1 Literature on Partition and Mass Migration of Refugees

Tinaz Pavri described in her article “Shall We Talk? Communications during Crises in the India-Pakistan Conflict” about the post-independence tension between India and Pakistan and the issue of Kashmir which created due to mismanagement of British authorities.⁷⁴ It is important to note that the tension between India and Pakistan still exists instead of that the Muslims in India achieved their goal. Moreover, this study is limited to post partition tension between India and Pakistan and quoted some examples. And writer suggested that both states should talk to each other and find their smooth way to minimize their tension. However, I have discussed pre and post Independence tension between these two communities and has also discussed their remedies.

Rabia Umar Ali wrote in her article “Planning for the Partition of India 1947: A Scuttled Affair” in the prospect to evaluate the facts behind the creation of

⁷⁴ Pavri, Tinaz, “Shall We Talk? Communications during Crises in the India–Pakistan Conflict,” *The Round Table*, 2009, pp. 473-481.

Pakistan.⁷⁵ The writer used objective and authentic analysis to find the reason behind the struggle of Muslims for independence from both Hindus and the British in the shape of Pakistan. No, doubt the creation of Pakistan is actually the result of forceful demand of Indian Muslims. They knew that after the evacuation of British from India the Hindus wished to capture the rule of Sub-Continent. Thus, the Muslims must be their slave. The Muslims were much aware of the hypocritical nature of the Hindus. Thus the echo of “Divide and Quit” spread all over the India. This study has limited information about 3rd June Plan for partition and further the Radcliff award which handed over many Muslim’s majority states to India which is contagious to Pakistan that causes a mass movement of Muslims towards Pakistan from these areas. However, I have also focused on all the hypocritical approach of the British and Hindu who leave no stone unturned to damage the newly born state Pakistan.

The book “The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts” is discussing about the partition of India through secret British record and first person interview.⁷⁶ The partition of India in 1947 brought about the greatest constrained relocation ever - somewhere in the range of 14 million individuals inside and out of which 10 million were from the Punjab. This book is a comprehensive investigation of the main real instance of ethnic purging after the Second World War. Other than revealing new insight on the occasions through secret British reports, it additionally contains powerful records by onlookers, survivors, and even participators in the slaughter

⁷⁵ Ali, Rabia Umar, “Planning for the Partition of India 1947: A Scuttled Affair,” *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 2009, pp. 113-130.

⁷⁶ Ahmed, Ishtiaq, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts*. Karachi, Sindh: Oxford University Press, 2012.

from the two sides of the outskirts. With interviewees from the India and Pakistan, the book gives an adjusted record of partition and show how religious contrasts are no bar to quiet concurrence except if featured by troublesome powers. It will be of enormous enthusiasm to anybody even remotely inquisitive about the happenings of the most traumatic occasion in ongoing Indian history.

The article “Boundary Commission Award: The Muslim League Response” was written in the prospect of Radcliff Award, who was responsible for the partition of the India into two boundaries India and Pakistan.⁷⁷ After hearing the announcement from the commission, everyone is shocked due to the injustice partition and especially Jinnah the leader of Muslim League who truly satisfied from the British judicial system. Everyone had not been expecting this type of biased decision. Because, the majority Muslim populated area were given to the India, which was also a major cause behind the mass movement of the refugees. By giving Gurdaspur district (majority Muslim area) to India permanently created tension between India and Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir. In my study, I have described a detail view on the boundary commission award which led to the mass and force migration from Muslim populated area.

The author argues in the article “The False Premise of Partition” that the advent of a religious movement, the difference between Hindus and Muslims led to the partition of India.⁷⁸ He also argues that the chairman of the boundary commission did not know about the current circumstance of the India and also never visited India before.

⁷⁷ Dar, Farooq Ahmad, “Boundary Commission Award: The Muslim League Response,” *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 2012, pp. 13-34.

⁷⁸ Jones, Reece, “The False Premise of Partition,” *Space and Polity*, 2014, pp. 285-300.

So, the partition is based on “False Premise”. However, the main focused of the writer is on the partition of the Bengal, which was the part of Pakistan at the time of partition and known as “East Pakistan”. However, in writing the thesis, our focus is also to describe the Radcliff award which may reflect the reason behind the mass movement of the refugees.

1.11.2 Literature on Effect of Partition

The article “The Chief Sufferers’: Abduction of Women during the Partition of the Punjab” written by Andrew J. Major highlighted the event that took place at the time of partition.⁷⁹ The women are respected in every community and have a big space in their values. But during the partition of India, it is very hard to write that during the process of migration and settlement the women from both the communities suffered a lot. No doubt, the non-Muslims communities were also suffered many difficulties but the Muslims also faced many problem and difficulties during this process. However, this study has also discussed the difficulties and problem faced by the Muslims during partition violence and also put some first-hand account in the present study.

The article “The Arrival Impact of Partition Refugees in Uttar Pradesh, 1947-52” wrote in the context of refugee’s impact on the Uttar Pradesh after the partition of India.⁸⁰ No doubt, the demographic changes in the post- partition context had its merit and demerit. Mostly write described in the pre or post manners of the partition

⁷⁹ Major, Andrew J, “The Chief Sufferers’: Abduction of Women during the Partition of the Punjab,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 1995, pp. 57-72.

⁸⁰ Khan, Yasmin, “The Arrival Impact of Partition Refugees in Uttar Pradesh, 1947-52,” *Contemporary South Asia*, 2003, pp. 511-522.

but after the settlement of refugees in their new hometown had a further impact on their new habitat in the cities. These impacts had never described before. The study is limited to Uttar Pradesh and did not evaluate the process of settlement and rehabilitation. However, in my thesis, I have briefly described the process of settlement and further their impacts on the local people of the Sargodha and at the end, their contributions and their role in the development of Sargodha has also explored.

In this article “Voices of Difference: Partition Memory and Memories of Muslims in Jharkhand, India”, the writer takes two different environments i.e. before the partition and after the partition.⁸¹ In this first environment, he describes the process of migration in the threat, looting and killing environment which spread throughout the Punjab during the partition time. Then after the settlement the writer explores his study through interviews conducted by the Muslims who settled in Jharkhand, India. This study is limited to two memories which are post and pre-independence, the process of migration, and their settlement and further their role in the development of their new cities or country is missing. However, in my studies, the partition period rather pre or post, the partition violence, migration, their rehabilitation and further their impact on socio-economic development in the history of Sargodha has also briefly described.

The article under discussion “Partition, Memory and Trauma: Voices of Punjabi Refugee Migrants in Lahore and Amritsar” was written in the contest with the first-

⁸¹ Sinha-Kerkhoff, Kathinka, “Voices of Difference: Partition Memory and Memories of Muslims in Jharkhand, India,” *Critical Asian Studies*, 2004, pp. 113-142.

hand account of the settlement after partition in Lahore (Pakistan) and in Amritsar (India).⁸² It is important to share that there is a boundary line between Amritsar and Lahore. The Amritsar reflects the India while Lahore reflects Pakistan. After drawing the boundary line between these cities demographic and cultural changes had occurred. Through the interviews, the writer shows their fear and hope in near future which they may effected. However, the article is limited and restricted to these cities i.e. Amritsar and Lahore and not highlighted the whole Punjab's people experience. However, the current study has conducted interviews of those people who shifted to Sargodha division and these people were from different cities of the Punjab. Their experience in the process of migration to the settlement has broadly discussed which reflect the whole experience of the Punjabi people who migrated from India to Pakistan.

The article written by Zeenath Kausar "Communal Riots in India: Hindu-Muslim Conflict and Resolution" has thrown the lights upon communal riots & conflict between Hindus and Muslim on pre and post independence.⁸³ The writer very keenly pointed out the violence and tension which appeared between Hindus and Muslim. This contradiction started after the decline of Muslims empire in Sub-continent and highly recorded at the partition era. Now after the independence of Pakistan the Muslim in India is the second largest community and the largest Muslims minority in the world. But there is still a big contradiction between these two communities and the writer reference to the Babri Masjid which was demolition in 1992 by Hindus

⁸² Talbot, Ian, "Partition, Memory and Trauma: Voices of Punjabi Refugee Migrants in Lahore and Amritsar," *Sikh Formations: Religion, Culture, Theory*, 2006, pp. 3-16.

⁸³ Kausar, Zeenath, "Communal Riots in India: Hindu-Muslim Conflict and Resolution," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 2006, pp. 353-370.

and in 2002 the genocide of Muslims in Gujarat. However, Hindus and Muslims reflect a different culture, the culture which ever not mixes with each other after living together for centuries. The demand for Pakistan is one of the big reasons behind this theory. Moreover, the present study has also discussed the contradiction between these communities and the reason why they ever not mix up with each other after living together for centuries.

The article “The Demographic Impact of Partition in the Punjab in 1947” is written on the demographic impacts of the partition of the Sub-Continent Using censuses reports of 1931, 1941, and 1951 from India and Pakistan.⁸⁴ The findings of the study are that the population of Punjab was increased to 2.9 million from its original population and during the period of 1941 to 1951 total loss of life were 2.7 million and mostly their age were above twenty years. However, the article is very limited to its duration as its covers only the period of 1931 to 1951. The migration and violence were mostly recorded after the independence of Pakistan so the period which taken in the article is quite limited. However, in the thesis I have discussed the whole process of migration and violence till their settlement i.e. 1974.

The author explores his knowledge in his article “Uncomfortable Residues of Dis-Location: Migration and Modern Panjabi Short Stories” on the partition of India.⁸⁵ The writer is inspired from reading the different stories like “*Baraf da Geet*”, by Sadhu Binning, “*Tobha Tek Singh*”, by Saadat Hasan Manto and “*Do Tapu*”, by Jarnail

⁸⁴ Hill, Kenneth, “The Demographic Impact of Partition in the Punjab in 1947,” *Population Studies*, 2008, pp. 155-170.

⁸⁵ Grewal, Harjeet, “Uncomfortable Residues of Dis-Location: Migration and Modern Panjabi Short Stories,” *Sikh Formations*, 2008, pp. 97-113.

Singh which had been written in the context of India's partition. This study is very limited to explore some related reading which has been mentioned above. However, in writing the thesis I have also described these writings which have their own worth till after 71 years of the partition (1947-2018) but the main focus of my study is to be the first hand account and the documents available at the different offices of the Pakistan related to partition, migration and further settlement in their cities.

The thesis "Persisting Partition: Gender, Memory and Trauma in Women's Narratives of Pakistan"⁸⁶ has focused on the proceeding with importance of the 1947 partition of India in writings that connect with the national scene of Pakistan. This examination moves past taking a gender at partition as a confined arrangement of occasions in 1947 and contextualizes its procedures, questioning why partition and Pakistan turned out to be such a powerful request, and what the progressing consequences are of its occurrence. This examination keeps up an emphasis on women accounts, contending that due to the gendered experience of savagery at the season of partition, for example, assault, snatching, and respect slaughtering, women stories have a specific mediation to make. All things considered this theory suggests that there is an example of particularly gendered injury that raises which upsets prevailing patriot recalling of partition. This work takes an interdisciplinary concentration by dissecting fiction, include film and narrative.

The article "Partisan Reporting: Press Coverage of the 1947 Partition Violence in the Punjab" covers the partisan reporting related to violence in Punjab in 1947 but

⁸⁶ Saeed, Humaira Zaineb, *Persisting Partition: Gender, Memory and Trauma in Women's Narratives of Pakistan*, Doctoral Dissertation, The University of Manchester, 2012.

especially cover the “censor provocative accounts in a context of administrative collapse” during the settlement of refugees.⁸⁷ As the media played a vital role in every step of life and especially during the period when there was a tension between two communities. Moreover, the writer limited to the violence of the partition and cover the press role in the settlement and further development in the cities. Moreover, this study has also widely discussed the press role through different newspapers that have been listed in the bibliography and highlight the different aspect of life through a newspaper which reflects the true picture at that time in Sargodha division.

The article “The Other Side of Partition Resonances on Cultural Expressions” mainly described the impact of migration on the different fields of life especially cinema, literature, drama and painting in India.⁸⁸ This article shows that the trend of writing has been changed from partition effect to impact of partition on a different aspect of life. The study also encourages the new scholars to get them ready to deduce the aftermath of partition. However, this study is also focused on the aftermath effect of partition on the life of people and its covers the area of Sargodha division.

1.11.3 Literature on Rehabilitation of Refugees

The author of the article “The Dilemma of ‘Nationhood’ and Religion: A Survey and Critique of Studies on Population Displacement Resulting from the partition of the Indian Subcontinent” has thoroughly explained the process of rehabilitation into four

⁸⁷ Chattha, Ilyas, “Partisan Reporting: Press Coverage of the 1947 Partition Violence in the Punjab,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 2013, pp. 608-625.

⁸⁸ Ghosh, Partha S, “The Other Side of Partition Resonances on Cultural Expressions,” *South Asia Research*, 2015, pp. 42-60.

manners.⁸⁹ First, he explained the background for partition of India which led to the further independence of Pakistan. Then the writer explores the demographic changes which occur suddenly due to the forceful migration from the both sides after the partition of India. After exploring the demographic changes the writer explores the individual experience which the refugees faced at the time of migration and further settlement in their new home country. The writer during research focused on the government record relevant to settlement and their rehabilitation in new arrival country. The focus of the write is overall Punjab and has not explored the settlement in different towns or cities because every town or city had its own merits and demerits. However, the focus of this study is to explore all the challenges faced by the refugees, further their settlement and their rehabilitation is Sargodha in the light of documents available at different offices and center in district level or at province level.

Ian Talbot adorns his article “Punjabi Refugees’ Rehabilitation and the Indian State: Discourses, Denials and Dissonances” with the “The Story of Rehabilitation” published by government of India publication.⁹⁰ The important study of this article is that the writer explores “the refugee-state tensions arising from refugees’ experience of local level bureaucratic and police services corruption”. Moreover, writer limited his writing after the partition of the India. The tension between local and refugees is still occurring in different cities and towns in Pakistan. However, this still is also focusing to highlight this problem and the findings of this study will hopefully

⁸⁹ Haque, C. Emdad, “The Dilemma of ‘Nationhood’ and Religion: A Survey and Critique of Studies on Population Displacement Resulting from the Partition of the Indian Subcontinent,” *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 1995, pp. 185-209.

⁹⁰ Talbot, Ian, “Punjabi Refugees’ Rehabilitation and the Indian State: Discourses, Denials and Dissonances,” *Modern Asian Studies*, 2011, pp. 109-130.

helpful not only for the inhabitant of the cities but also for the government to play their role in minimizing the tension.

The main focus of the article “Socio-Economic Determinants of Rural-Urban Migration in Pakistan” was the migration from rural area to urban area in Pakistan.⁹¹ In her article different factors like political, psychological and social factors behind the migration decision has been briefly described. The socio-economic analysis in the rural-urban migration was her main theme of the study. This study shows the significant relationship between landholding, employment, business, agriculture, marriages and migration decision. However, in writing the thesis on Sargodha division the migration process has been widely described.

1.11.4 Literature on Pakistan Punjab Cities Gujranwala, Sialkot and Sargodha

The book under review “Sargodha Mai Muslim Siyasat 1907-1947” is about the Sargodha’s political history from 1907 to 1947.⁹² This book not only described the Sargodha history but also described the contribution of Sargodha people in the struggle for making of Pakistan. The writer of this book was a lawyer and he also contributed in the making of Pakistan. He was the eye witness of most of the events that described in this book. However this book covered only the pre partition era, the migration of Muslim refugees, their settlement, their rehabilitations and the contribution of refugees in Sargodha development is still missing.

⁹¹ Kanwal, Hina, Tanveer Ahmed Naveed, and Muhammad Azhar Khan, “Socio-Economic Determinants of Rural-Urban Migration in Pakistan,” *Journal of Asian Development Studies*, 2015, pp. 35-45.

⁹² Awan, Muhammad, *Sargodha Mai Muslim Siyasat 1907-1947* (in Urdu), Faisalabad: Misal Publisher, 2004.

The thesis “Partition and its aftermath: Violence, Migration and the Role of Refugees in the Socio-Economic Development of Gujranwala and Sialkot Cities”⁹³ under discussion has concentration upon the urban areas of Gujranwala and Sialkot district of Pakistan that accomplished brutality, statistic move and monetary change in various ways. The work is not just a noteworthy commitment to the comprehension of the partition procedure of British India and its outcome for the Pakistan Punjab, it likewise give a definitive and provocative way to deal with the subjects of more extensive twentieth-century procedures of aggregate viciousness, mass removals and monetary recuperation. This work beautifully described how the gigantic moves in populace impacted and changed the financial scene of the two urban areas. The concentration is upon the urban areas post-autonomy mechanical recuperation and the development of another craftsman modern class to noticeable quality.

The thesis “Partition of the Indian Subcontinent: Planning and Implementation”⁹⁴ under discussion is about the history of the battle for freedom and partition of India from British fortification. The author described that partition should be rescued from such a nearsighted way to deal with be reclassified as the most huge occasion in the development of South Asia as a socio-political unit. There is not really any uncertainty that the Indian subcontinent was partitioned on the powerful request of the Muslims spoke to by Jinnah and the Muslim League. Moreover, the British couldn't accommodate to the completion of a Raj they had come to see as their most

⁹³ Chatta, Ilyas Ahmad, *Partition and its Aaftermath: Violence, Migration and the Role of Refugees in the Socio-Economic Development of Gujranwala and Sialkot Cities, 1947-196*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Southampton, 2009.

⁹⁴ Rabia Umar, Ali, *Partition of the Indian Subcontinent: Planning and Implementation*, Doctoral Dissertation, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 2010.

prized ownership and the Hindus could barely acknowledge their country separating and the Muslims picking up a place where there is their own.

An insufficient focus on the 'human dimension' of refugee's rehabilitation at Sargodha division created a gap and this comparative dimension was not justified by the new outlook of modern history. This study estimates that how the impact of massive shifts in population transformed the culture and socio-economic landscape of Sargodha division. As the current study is related to the rehabilitation of refugees then it is important to know the reason behind the mass migration which further creates many difficulties for their rehabilitation. This study reflects a new dimension in respect of refugees rehabilitation in regional level studies, which will open the new thinking for the researcher in respect of partition of India at local level.

1.12 Research Methodology

This study is based on both primary and secondary sources. There are many significant works which provide a wide knowledge on the subject. To conduct the research I have started from studying the secondary sources, i.e. books, journals, websites and thesis of master, master of philosophy and doctoral students. But, this study is mainly depended on the primary sources which has been available at the United Kingdom and Pakistan and institutes in Sargodha and other cities. For this purpose, the settlement branch in Sargodha has the settlement related source which dealt with the settlement and rehabilitation of refugees at the time of partition. Some record of refugee settlement is also available at the office of the Settlement Branch in Lahore.

The primary sources of the research has included the following resources: The British National Archives, United Kingdom, The British Library, United Kingdom, The National Documentation Wing (NDW), Islamabad; National Archive, Islamabad; Federal Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division Islamabad; National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad; Office of Punjab Secretariat Archives, Lahore; Muhafiz Khana, Sargodha; Sargodha Chamber of Commerce; Sargodha Small Industries; Department of Agriculture, Sargodha; Office of *Tehsildar* and *Naib Tehsildar* of Sargodha division; Tehsil Municipality Office (TMO), Sargodha division; District Councils; District Courts and District Police Office (DPO), Sargodha division.

Seventy interviews have also conducted by those people who witnessed the effects of the partition and some of the people interviewed have, indeed, be the part of the migration process. These interviews are to be of prime importance to evaluate the realities of migration and subsequent settlements. In addition, various newspapers such as *The Tribune*, *The Pakistan Times*, *Civil & Military Gazetter* and *Eastern Time* etc. have also been consulted to get the required information.

1.13 Initial Study

I initiated my research work after performing extensive study of the respective field. There is a bulk of material related to my studies which were written both the intellectuals from India and Pakistan. However, the mostly literature is available about the creation of Pakistan, violence and migration. The literature about refugee's settlement and literature on Sargodha is quite unique. There are many articles, books,

published or unpublished material about my topic which is mentioned in the bibliography which helps to write the findings of the thesis.

1.14 Documents

In order to make a clarified explanation regarding a particular social phenomenon we conduct an activity termed as “Social Research”. It includes efficient gathering of information about such a social phenomenon to find or potentially understanding examples and regularities in it. Though social surveys, participant observation and detailed interviews have been attempted and tried, they are by all account not the only ones always useful or the only option to be used. There is another exploration technique that is frequently underestimated or when utilized, it is just as a supplement to the traditional social studies. This is the “documentary research technique” or the utilization of documentary sources in social research in other words it is the “qualitative research technique”. This technique is usually great and at times it appears to be much more cost effective than social surveys, participant observation and detailed interviews.⁹⁵

The most useful phenomena in making analysis of documents are the “documentary method”.⁹⁶ Payne and Payne⁹⁷ describe the documentary method as “the techniques used to categories, investigate, interpret and identify the limitations of physical sources, most commonly written documents whether in the private or public domain.

⁹⁵ Hakim C., *Secondary Analysis in Social Research, A guide to Data Sources and Methods with Examples*, Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1982, pp. 12.

⁹⁶ Bailey, K., *Methods of Social Research*, Fourth Edition, New York: The Free Press, 1994, pp. 154.

⁹⁷ Payne, G. and Payne, J., *Key Concepts in Social Research*, London: Sage Publications, 2004, pp. 129.

A document is an artifact which has as its central feature an inscribed text”.⁹⁸ Simply put, a document is written text. Documents are delivered by people and gatherings over the span of their ordinary practices and are intended solely for their own prompt functional necessities. They have been composed with a reason and depend on specific suspicions and exhibited with a particular goal in mind or style and to this degree, the scientist must be completely mindful of the causes, reason and the first gathering of people of the reports.⁹⁹ Most countries repeatedly produce significant documents that can be effectively gotten cheaply. Office shelves of officials, newspapers ‘morgues’ and even store rooms ministry and departmental libraries are the best places where documents can be found.¹⁰⁰

Thus documentary research includes all types of outside data either secondary or primary. These document need to be analyzed deeply and minutely depending on the technique that would be either quantitative or qualitative analysis (or both). The quality of research depends upon the types of documents and most often on the ability of researcher to use them social world revolves around the reliability of sources of evidence so critically analyzed documents in research makes it a worldwide contribution. The research thesis under consideration “Refugees Rehabilitation and their Role In Socio-Economic Development in Sargodha division, Pakistan, 1947-1974” involves intensive documentary research with a keen analysis using qualitative technique. Various files collected from The National Archives,

⁹⁸ Scott, J., *A Matter of Record, Documentary Sources in Social Research*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990, pp. 32.

⁹⁹ Grix, J., *Demystifying Postgraduate Research*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham University Press, 2001, pp. 174.

¹⁰⁰ Gaborone, Bostswana, “The Use of Documentary Research Methods in Social Research,” *African Sociological Review*, 2006, pp. 225.

United Kingdom includes detailed reports, historical backgrounds, instructions, draft letters, inward and outward telgrams etc written by the leader of that time consisting of Lord Mountbatten, Redcliff, Attlee, Churchill, Jinnah, Gandhi, Nehru and other noteworthy personalities.

A few examples of such files are CAB 21/5650: India: Lord Mountbatten's report on his viceroyalty, 1948-1965, DO 133/60: Boundary Commission awards Punjab and Bengal and disturbances arising there, 1947, DO 142/14: Events in India and Pakistan July-Aug 1947, 1947, DO 142/24: Communal disturbance in India, 1947, DO 142/440: Refugees in West Punjab, 1947-1948, DO 142/438: Refugees in Pakistan, 1948-1949, DO 35/9001: Refugee problem in India and Pakistan, 1958, DO 35/9000: Radcliffe Award: Gurdaspur and Ferozepore, 1960, FO 371/136184: Relations between India and Pakistan, 1958, FO 371/136185: Relations between India and Pakistan, 1958, FO 371/136186: Relations between India and Pakistan, 1958. These files not only provide evidence of the circumstances of partition rather these documents also fulfills the gap of Indian stance on the research topic. As the researcher (being Pakistani citizen) have security concerns regarding the data collection of a controversial matter of grave intensity among the two rival countries i.e. India and Pakistan. British Library being a researcher's heaven has also supported the topic of research for example these files OIH 915.45: Gazetteer of the Shahpur District 1897, IOR: R/3/1/157: Boundary Commission, 1947, IOR: L/PJ/10/119: Allegation against Lord Mountbatten regarding Sikh & Boundary Award, September, 1947 proved intensively useful in historical references in distribution of land marking and their related issues.

For analyzing the post partition era, files related to refugees are taken from The National Archives, Islamabad for example 803: A Note on Rehabilitation, Proceedings and other papers relating to joint refugee and rehabilitation council, 1948, 803: A Note on Rehabilitation, Proceedings and other papers relating to joint refugee and rehabilitation council, 1948, 128 CF/48: A Note on the Work done by the Punjab government, Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation, 1948, B.50, 20/CF/49: Pakistan Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation, 1949, 21/CF/50 Volume IV: Forthrightly Summaries of the Ministry of Finance, 1950, 33/CF/53 Volume V: Fortnightly summaries of the Ministry of the Refugees & Rehabilitation, 1950. The settlement plan of refugees was analyzed by taking documents from Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, government office Record Islamabad. For example 11582: Outline Development Plan, Sargodha, 1977, 11584: Outline Development Plan, Khushab, 1977, 1584: Outline Development Plan, Mianwali, 1977, The Punjab Archives, Lahore is a hub of partition related documents. Some extremely useful files were taken from there for example A-79: The Punjab, A Review of the First Year, August 1947, 1947.15461, Pakistan Punjab Refugee Council, Proceedings of the conference of West Punjab Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners on Rehabilitations held on the 17th, 18th & 19th February 1948, 1948, E1-12: Statistics of Resettlement of Refugees in West Punjab with the Compliment of the Board of Economic Inquiry, 1948.

1.15 Interviews

The interviews have also been conducted in research. The first-hand account in this study is a prime factor. In the field area, there are four types of respondents, who are definitely important for the current study. Oral history is more a method of data

collection than a study design; however, in qualitative research, this has become an approach to study perceptions, experiences and accounts of an event or gathering historical knowledge as viewed by individuals. It is a picture of something in someone's own words. Oral history is a process of obtaining, recording, presenting and interpreting historical or current information, based upon personal experiences and opinions of some members of a study group or unit.

These opinions or experiences could be based upon eye-witness evidence or information passed on from other sources such as older people, ancestors, folklore, stories. According to Ritchie 'Memory is the core of oral history, from which meaning can be extracted and preserved.'¹⁰¹ Simply put, oral history collects memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews.' According to Burns, 'these are usually first person narratives that the researcher collects using extensive interviewing of a single individual'. In terms of design it is quite simple.¹⁰² You first decide what types of account, experience, perception or historical event you want to find out about. Then you need to identify the individuals or sources (which could be difficult and time consuming) that can best provide you with the needed information. You then collect information from them to be analysed and interpreted.

After the independence of Pakistan, there is a sudden impact on the socio and economic life of Sargodha. The interviews have been conducted from following four

¹⁰¹ Ritchie, Donald A, *Doing Oral History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 19.

¹⁰² Burns, Robert Bounds, *Introduction to Research Methods*, Longman: Addison Wesley, 1997, pp. 368.

types of people. Because they better know about the settlement of the refugees and their participation in the process of rehabilitation of these refugees.

1. Twenty eight interviews were conducted from the main inhabitants of Sargodha.
2. Twenty one interviews were conducted from the local people who settled in Sargodha from different cities due to the settlement policy launched by the government to establish Sargodha.
3. Fourteen interviews were conducted from the refugee people who migrated from India at the time of the partition.
4. Seven interviews were conducted from the government officer who made, implement or follow the settlement policies.

1.16 Chapters

The thesis is consisting of six chapters, the detail is as below:-

The first chapter is the **“Introduction”** of the thesis. It is consisting of the main theme, problem statement, research questions, research objectives, the importance of the study, limitation of the study, literature review, research methodology and the new findings.

The second chapter is **“Radcliff Award and Migration”**. This chapter is discussing the emergence of Pakistan and Radcliff award that was responsible for creating boundary line between India and Pakistan. Sir Cyril Radcliffe was an English lawyer and the chairman of the boundary commissions who had the power to make the award. The members of the Punjab Boundary Commission were Mr. Justice Din Muhammad and Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir nominated by the Muslims League, Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan and Mr. Justice Tej Singh nominated by the Congress. The partition of sub-continent was based on that the Muslims majority

areas should be given to Pakistan and the non-Muslims areas should be the part of India. But the Radcliff award also handed over the Muslim majority area to India. So the process of migration is widely expanded as the Muslims from their majority areas had to move towards newly born state Pakistan, due to this the migration exceed to millions.

The third chapter is **“History of Sargodha Division”** As the current study is on refugees in Sargodha division, it is important to have a bird’s eye view on the history of Sargodha in order to understand the topic. The history of Sargodha drives its roots and recognition from the arrival of Muslim refugees and before investigating the areas of refugee settlement, their genesis, their problems and their contribution it is essential to highlight the history of Sargodha division.

The fourth chapter is **“The Influx of Refugees in Sargodha division”**. This chapter is discussing the influx of refugee in Sargodha division. This chapter has discussed the effect of partition in shape of violence and in shape of social effect which caused a new life in the newly born state Pakistan.

The fifth chapter is consisting on the **“The Process of Rehabilitation and Socio-Economic Impact of Refugees in Sargodha Division”**. With the arrival of refugees in this division also burns the effect of demographic upheaval. This chapter is also deeply discussing the socio-economic impact and refugee’s role in the development of Sargodha.

The sixth chapter is consisting on **“Conclusion”**. The conclusion is discussing all the aspects of the chapters. The conclusion of the thesis is consisting on the findings and

evidence that accumulate for of the research. Hopefully, the findings of this thesis will guide a new level of perception for the readers.

1.17 Significance of Study

No doubt the partition of the sub-continent in the shape of Pakistan was the blessing and also a great destitution of the 20th century as the dawn of 14 August 1947 brought two things with him the 'land of pure' in the shape of Pakistan and the bloodshed, looting, war- torn of the Refugees people from both sides i.e. Pakistan and India. In writing the thesis the following are the new findings:-

1. Explain the Radcliff award in such a manner to find the reason behind the mass migration of Muslims Refugees towards Pakistan.
2. Identify what pattern the government of Pakistan rehabilitates and handled the issue of Refugee's rehabilitation in Sargodha.
3. Determine the contribution of local people in the process of rehabilitation of refugees in Sargodha.
4. Finally, to analyse the refugees role in the development of Sargodha and their impact on Social and Economic life of Sargodha.

Many books were written on the history of Sargodha which has been mentioned in the bibliography but there is limited work on the refugees, their settlement, their rehabilitation and their contribution in the development of Sargodha and their role in the social and economic life of Sargodha. The History of Sargodha will not be completed if we don't write about the refugees and further their contribution in the development of Sargodha.

Hopefully, this study is a masterpiece in the history of Sargodha which not only highlighting the important historical aspects of Sargodha but also explore its contribution to the development of Pakistan. And I hope it would prove to be an

interesting piece of writing for those who are keen to know about the history of settlements in Sargodha. The current study is based on the humanity and also highlights the social values and issues that hopefully increase the living standard.

1.18 Conclusion

The partition of subcontinent was more about the failure of the British than the success of the Indians. British divided the subcontinent into two parts under great pressure of the people of India. There were three chief reasons behind the violence that erupted as a result of the migration. First, it was the conspiracy hatched in the minds of both the Hindu leaders and the British veterans to give a short time of just 72 days for the partition after the announcement of 3rd June 1947. Secondly, it was the unjust Radcliffe award that was responsible for the migration. Finally, it was the flawed planning of the viceroy of Lord Mountbatten that contributed to the miseries of the refugees.

Like other cities, some of the refugees from the eastern Punjab also came to Sargodha for settlement due to the settlement policy announced by the government coupled with the factor of their relatives already settled in the city. They were war-torn, exhausted and penniless. They were not skilled enough to raise a living for the survival of their families as they found an entirely different environment in Sargodha. Still, the refugees preferred to settle here as Sargodha was a peaceful as well as an agricultural city. The refugees were more skilled in the field of agriculture compared to the inhabitants.

The concept of migration is not a new one for Muslims. They found the roots of migration that was led by the Holy Prophet (PBUH) in the best interest of Islam. Pakistan was created on the map of the world in the name of Islam. The Muslims of India wanted their own home place where they could establish their life according to the Islam's directions. So, for the purpose of pure land, the Muslim people migrated towards Pakistan. And after the migration, the government also set many facilities, law and departments to handle the process of refugee's settlement in a true manner. The government with local people helped them to settle immediately. However, this migration did not yield any positive outcome. Even after the 71 years of independence (1947-2018), some gaps remained unplugged. The process of settlements that had to be resolved in months was extended to years.



CHAPTER TWO

RADCLIFF AWARD AND MIGRATION

2.1 Introduction

Nearly 6.5 million refugees fled to the newly born Pakistan according to a rough estimation of the government. Of these, 5.2 million came from the East Punjab and the neighboring states while 1.3 million migrated from Delhi Province. Virtually, 5,500,000 Hindus and Sikhs left West Pakistan. It is also claimed that “a total of 7.25 million Muslim refugees came from India between 1947 and 1951”. Nearly, 5.5 million refugees inhabited in West Punjab while about 1.5 million moved towards Sindh. It was the province of Punjab that witnessed maximum violence “three-quarters of a million killed”, and it had been estimated that more than ten million Punjabis were uprooted from their homelands and at least 75,000 women were raped. The representative of Pakistan also stated that about 10,000,000 people displaced from their home constitute a vast mass of human suffering. It is also blame that it causing more than 15 million refugees and hundreds of thousands of deaths.

A myriad of reasons lay these mass migrations flash to our mind and as the purpose of this research is to throw light on migration and settlements, we should discuss in detail the Boundary Commission, later on called the “Radcliffe Award”. In this way, we shall come to know that how the commission committed accesses with the Muslims majority areas and how they were given to India and no doubt the award had hit the Muslims more than any other and they had already sacrificed more than they were expected to.

We shall also encompass the migration of Muslims towards Pakistan from those Muslims majority areas that were given to India, which led to the government of Pakistan for arranging settlement or rehabilitation of these refugees. Starting from the Lahore Resolution of the All India Muslim League in its Annual session at Lahore in March 1940, laid the basic principle as The geographically adjacent units are divided into districts which ought to be so comprised with such regional correction as might be fundamental that the territories in which Moslems are numerically in a lion's share as in the North-Western and North-Eastern Zones of India ought to be gathered to establish free states which the constitution units will be self-governing and sovereign.

2.2 Emergence of Pakistan

The International scenario regarding the vast British Empire faced a serious shift after World War-II. Realizing the importance of foreign affairs, the Attlee¹ government was worried about four principle issues; post-war Europe, the beginning of the Cold War, the foundation of the United Nations, and decolonization. In the quick result of the war, the government confronted the test of overseeing relations with Britain's previous war-time partner, Stalin and the Soviet Union.² Ernest Bevin³ was an enthusiastic enemy of socialist, in view of on his experience of battling

¹ Clement Attlee (1883-1967) was British Labour Party leader from 1935-1955 and Prime Minister of Great Britain from 1945-1951. He directed the foundation of the welfare state in Great Britain and the conceding of autonomy to India, the most vital advance in the change of the British Empire into the Commonwealth of Nations., <https://www.gov.uk/government/history/past-prime-ministers/clement-attlee> retrieved on 26 February 2019.

² Kenneth, O, "Morgan, Labour in Power 1945-1951." <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/capsule-review/1984-09-01/labour-power-1945-1951> retrieved on 18 February 2019.

³ Ernest Bevin (1881-1951) was hold the seat as Foreign Secretary in Attlee's post-war government (1945-1951) and played an important role as British statesman. http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/bevin_ernest.shtml retrieved on 18 February 2019.

socialist impact in the worker's organization development. Bevin's underlying way to deal with the USSR as Foreign Secretary might have been “vigilant and suspicious, yet not naturally unfriendly”. Attlee himself looked for warm relations with Stalin. He put his trust in the United Nations, rejected thoughts that the Soviet Union was twisted on world victory, and cautioned that regarding Moscow as a foe would transform it into one.⁴ This put Attlee at sword's point with his outside clergyman, the Foreign Office, and the military who all observed the Soviets as a developing danger to Britain's job in the Middle East. Abruptly in January 1947, Attlee turned around his position and concurred with Bevin on a firm stance hostile to Soviet arrangement.⁵

Attlee organized the conceding of freedom to India and Pakistan in 1947. Attlee in 1928-1934 had been an individual from the Indian Statutory Commission, called the Simon Commission.⁶ He turned into the Labour Party master on India and by 1934 was focused on conceding India a similar free domain status that Canada and Australia as of late were given.⁷ He confronted solid obstruction from the resolute Conservative colonialists, driven by Churchill,⁸ who restricted both freedom and

⁴ Smith, Raymond, and John Zametica, “The Cold Warrior: Clement Attlee Reconsidered, 1945-7.” *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944)*, 1985, pp. 240.

⁵ Gordon, Yefim, “Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-15: The Soviet Union's Long-Lived Korean War Fighter (Aerofax),” 2001, pp. 78.

⁶ The Indian Statutory Commission, Known as the Simon Commission, came to India under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon consist of seven British Members of Parliament. The commission touched base in British India in 1928 to think about Constitutional reforms in British India, <https://byjus.com/free-ias-prep/ncert-simon-commission> retrieved on 19 February 2019.

⁷ Bew, John. *Clement Attlee: The Man Who Made Modern Britain*. Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 145.

⁸ Sir Winston Churchill (1874-1965) belongs to Conservative Political party in Britain and led the Britain to victory in the World War II. He served as Prime Minister from 1940 to 1945 and from 1951 to 1955. He was defeated by Clement Attlee in 1945 general elections. He was also awarded the

endeavors driven by Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin to set up an arrangement of constrained neighborhood control by Indians themselves.⁹ Attlee and the Labour administration were thoughtful to the Congress development driven by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Amid the Second World War Attlee was responsible for Indian undertakings.¹⁰ He set up the Cripps Mission in 1942,¹¹ which attempted and neglected to unite the groups.¹² At the point when the Congress called for detached obstruction in the “Quit India” development of 1942-1945. The Quit India Movement was a movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi on 8 August 1942 in All-India Congress Committee, during World War II, demanding an end to British Rule of India.¹³ It was Attlee who requested the capture and internment for the term of a huge number of Congress pioneers and pounded the revolt.¹⁴

Nobel Prize in literature in 1953. <https://www.gov.uk/government/history/past-prime-ministers/winston-churchill> retrieved on 18 February 2019.

⁹ Herman, Arthur, *Gandhi & Churchill: The Epic Rivalry that Destroyed an Empire and Forged Our Age*, Bantam, 2008, pp. 135.

¹⁰ Pearce, Robert. *Attlee's Labour Governments 1945-51*. Routledge, 2006, pp. 433.

¹¹ From 22 March to 11 April 1942, Stafford Cripps, a member of the War Cabinet, was dispatched to India to discuss the British Government's Draft Declaration on the Constitution of India with representative Indian leaders from all parties. He explained to “the leaders to the principal sections of the Indian people” the British Government's proposal for India's attainment of full self government after the World War-II. <http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/cripps-mission> retrieved on 19 February 2019 see also Nanda, Bal Ram. *Gandhi: A Pictorial Biography*. Publications Division Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, 1988. pp. 72, Coupland, Reginald. *The Cripps Mission*. Pickle Partners Publishing, 2016, pp. 58 and Owen, Nicholas. “The Cripps Mission of 1942: A Reinterpretation,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 2002, pp. 62.

¹² <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1947/mar/06/india-government-policy> retrieved on 20 February 2019.

¹³ Nanda, Bal Ram. *Gandhi: A Pictorial Biography*. Publications Division Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, 1988, pp. 74.

¹⁴ Herman, Arthur. *Gandhi & Churchill: The Epic Rivalry that Destroyed an Empire and Forged Our Age*. Bantam, 2008, pp. 486-495.

Paradoxically, the Muslim League driven by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and furthermore the Sikh people group, firmly bolstered the war exertion. They incredibly amplified their enrollment and won support from London for their choice. Attlee held affection for Congress and until 1946, acknowledged their theory that they were a non-religious gathering that acknowledged Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and every other person.¹⁵

The Muslim alliance demanded that it was the main genuine delegate of the majority of the Muslims of India, and by 1946 Attlee had come to concur with them. With brutality heightening in India after the war, however with British money related influence at low ebb, huge scale military inclusion was outlandish. Emissary Wavell said he required a further seven armed force divisions to anticipate public brutality if freedom dealings fizzled. No divisions were accessible; freedom was the main alternative.¹⁶ Given the requests of the Muslim class, freedom inferred a segment that set off intensely Muslim Pakistan from the primary segment of India.¹⁷

The Labour government offered autonomy to India and Pakistan in a suddenly fast move in 1947. Student of history Andrew Roberts says the freedom of India was a “National Mortification” yet it was required by earnest monetary, authoritative, vital and political necessities.¹⁸ As per statement of Britain’s India policy, Attlee’s

¹⁵ Smith, Raymond, and John Zametica, “The Cold Warrior: Clement Attlee Reconsidered, 1945-7,” *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs)* 1985, pp. 240.

¹⁶ Chandler, David G., and Ian Frederick William Beckett, *The Oxford History of the British Army*, Oxford University Press, USA, 2003, pp. 331.

¹⁷ Kenneth Harris, *Attlee*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson Ltd; Revised, Subsequent edition (August 1, 1995), 1995, pp. 362-387.

¹⁸ Roberts, Andrew. *Eminent Churchillians*. Hachette UK, 2010, pp. 74

government desired to hand over their responsibility to authorities established by a constitution approved by all parties in India in accordance with the Cabinet Mission's plan, but unfortunately the legislation was doubted under Indian political stress. The Cabinet Mission plan 1946 devised by the British government dispelled the impression that it was strongly willing to reconcile with the irreconcilable parties. Hindu wanted to have a single constitution making body, while the Muslims desired two separate constitution making bodies, one for Hindustan and one for Pakistan.¹⁹

The state of uncertainty in India was fraught with danger and could not be indefinitely prolonged. His Majesty's government wished to make it clear that it was their definite intention to affect the transference of power into responsible India hands by a date no later than June 1948. After months of hard work by the Cabinet Mission a great measure of agreement was obtained as to the method by which the constitution should be worked out. This was embodied in their statements of May. Britain's government hence agreed to recommend to Parliament a suitable constitution worked out, in accordance with the proposals made therein, by a fully representative Constituent Assembly. But if it was not agreed by the leaders of India Britain's government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central government in British India should be handed over, on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of central government for British India or in some areas to the

¹⁹ Parliamentary Debates (HANSARD), House of Lords, Official Report (Unrevised), Volume 142 No. 118, Thursday, 18 July 1946, pp. 582.

existing Provincial governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people.²⁰

Churchill in 1940-1945 had fixed the hang on India and detained the Congress authority, with Attlee's endorsement. Work had anticipated making it a completely free domain like Canada or Australia.²¹ A considerable lot of the Congress heads in the India had concentrated in England, and were exceedingly viewed as individual hopeful communists by Labour pioneers. Attlee was the Labour master on India and took exceptional charge of decolonization. Attlee found that Churchill's emissary, Field Marshal Wavell,²² was excessively imperialistic, excessively enthusiastic about military arrangements (he needed seven more Army divisions) and excessively careless of Indian political arrangements.²³

The new Viceroy was Lord Mountbatten, the dashing war legend and a cousin of the King. On 21 February 1947, Mountbatten was appointed as new Viceroy of India;²⁴ he was very cunning and aware of the International political upheavals.²⁵ Viceroy

²⁰ Draft statement of Britain's India policy prepared by Secretary of State for India for the British Ambassador in Washington, 20 February 1947, File No. FO 371/63529, TNA, UK, 1947.

²¹ Roberts, Andrew. *Eminent Churchillians*. Hachette UK, 2010, pp. 360.

²² Field Marshal Archibald Percival Wavell (1883-1950) was a senior commander in the British Army. He was commander-in-Chief in India from 1943 to 1947 and became viceroy of India till February 1947 when Lord Mountbatten replaced him. Moon, Penderel. *Wavell: The Viceroy's Journal*. Vol. 34. London: Oxford University Press, 1973, pp. 16.

²³ Irial Glynn, "An Untouchable in the Presence of Brahmins' Lord Wavell's Disastrous Relationship with Whitehall During His Time as Viceroy to India, 1943-1947," *Modern Asian Studies*, 2007, pp. 655.

²⁴ British Government announcement of 3 June 1947, File No. IOR R/3/1/156, The British Library, United Kingdom.

²⁵ Moore, R. J, "Mountbatten, India, and the Commonwealth," *Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 1981, pp. 5.

Mountbatten already realized the political warming of India he came with the intention to partition India. He wanted himself to be remembered in the history as the person who played a key role in finalizing the partition by helping Indian leaders Nehru and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. His aim was peaceful partition and settlement with reduced bloodshed, violence and tragedy. An interesting fact regarding the date of partition was that Lord Mountbatten personally wanted the date of 15 August as an Indian independence day because he believed that date to be “very lucky” for his career. As it was on 15 August 1945 according to Japanese time zone, that the Japanese Army was eventually defeated and had surrendered before Lord Mountbatten who was then commander of the allied forces, during the World War II.²⁶

Appointment of Lord Mountbatten along with the declaration to handover the powers to Indian leaders were celebrated Worldwide. Some notable remarks are mentioned to weight the importance of this crucial political move during 1947. According to a broadcast chronicle of the Viceroy's message to the Indian individuals was communicated in wake of political unrest in India. It suggested bi-fold motivation behind the allocation of Lord Mountbatten in the better interest of riots settlement. Firstly to make conceivable the most extreme level of agreement and collaboration between the leading ideologically existing political groups of India, whenever settled on, might include minimizing the risks of massacre and suffering as could be expected under the circumstances. Secondly to led the British government to hand

²⁶ Moore, R. J, “Mountbatten, India, and the Commonwealth,” *Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 1981, pp. 5.

over its obligations in a methodical, secure and organized way at the soonest opportunity.²⁷ Mr. Attlee stated that;

“I would make an earnest appeal to everyone to give calm and dispassionate consideration to these proposals,” Mr. Attlee went on. “It is, of course, easy to criticize them, but weeks of devoted work by the Viceroy have failed to find any alternative that is practicable. They have emerged from the hard facts of the situation in India”.²⁸

Winston Churchill suggested Dominion status for the various sections of a separated India, he also approved with collaboration of the Conservative Party about the facility of legislation to support Dominion status upon several sections of India.²⁹

The British choice to pull back totally from India by June, 1948, was commended for the most part in the U.S. press as an ‘epoch-making’ proclamation that made the responsibility regarding the arrangement of India's internal issues unequivocally in the hands of the Indian political leaders. The emphasis of British was to make two dominating political groups in absolute agreement with one another. The New York herald tribune stated:

““Attlee’s announcement that the British were determined to withdraw from India whether or not a new constitution could be agreed upon by the Indians, is a truly momentous event. It marks a breach with the older world that is more striking than anything that has occurred since World War One revolutionized Europe. A new nation, whose potentialities

²⁷ “Reports on Lord Mountbatten’s Radio Broadcast on Partition”, *The Times*, 4 June 1947, pp. 1.

²⁸ Indian states-Developments since the transfer of power in August 1947, File no CAB 21/2038, TNA, UK, 1947.

²⁹ Handwritten letter from Conservative leader Winston Churchill to Prime Minister Clement Attlee agreeing to support Indian independence, File No. PREM 8/565, TNA, UK, 1947.

could only be guessed at, was about to rise in Asia—in a plastic Asia that may yet, in sure hands, be shaped into a mould for the future of the world.”³⁰

The Cincinnati Enquirer a morning daily newspaper of USA appreciated Britain as:

"The Attlee commitment does not promise a united India, as originally contemplated. It clearly leaves the way open to three Indian states—a predominately Hindu India, a separate state embracing the heavily Moslem areas, and a scattered agglomeration of native states ruled by princes. And that is what a self-governing India will be, in June of next year, unless meantime the several factions can reach agreement on the constitution of a single Indian confederation with a central government in common...”³¹

The New York Times stated:

“Every passing day should now crowd the opposing Indian leaders closer to some compromise. It may be that the Moslems themselves can modify (Moslem leader) Jinnah’s recalcitrant attitude. There are signs that some of them are trying to do so. A position which is still politically expedient now may become untenable a year from now. Nehru may be shrewd enough to increase his inducements for Moslem collaboration. It is certain India cannot build her independence on a deadlock. Independence with no ability to control it and no power to maintain it promises only catastrophe.”³²

³⁰ Round up of American press reaction to Britain’s decision to leave India, 28 February 1947, File No. FO 371/63529, TNA, UK, 1947.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

Mountbatten soon weighed the gravity of the matter. Surprisingly, just after a few weeks of his arrival in India subsequently a couple of discussions with Indian leaders, he realized that the partition was inevitable, and the “only possible alternative”. He assumed Nehru³³ as the most “sincere” and the wisest one, who understood what a ‘terrifying problem’³⁴ it was to resolve the complexities of ‘handing over so much power by June of 1948. In Mountbatten’s view, Jinnah was stubborn while Gandhi was too idealistic to estimate or find the solution to the Indian problem in the best interest of all the stakeholders and one of Mountbatten’s “Top Secret and Personal” reports to King George, in London’s India Office Library, in which he referred to Jinnah as “psychopathic”.³⁵

According to the content of the communication made by Viceroy Lord Mountbatten, to the Indians on the exchange of capacity to Indian hands:-

“For more than a hundred years, 400,000,000 of you have lived together, and this country has been administered as a single entity. This has resulted in unified communications, defense, postal services and currency; an absence of tariffs and Customs Barriers; and the basis for an

³³ Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) was first Prime Minister of India. His father Motilal Nehru was also a famous politician in Indian history as he drafted a report in 1928 which became famous as “Nehru Report”. Jawaharlal Nehru was a foreign-educated barrister and had a close relationship with Mahatma Gandhi. He was a freedom fighter and took the independence of India as his own wish. He is also famous among the Indian kids knew him as “Uncle Nehru” http://www.pmindia.gov.in/en/former_pm/shri-jawaharlal-nehru/ retrieved on 21 February 2019.

³⁴ Ali, Rabia Umar, *Empire in Retreat: The Story of India's Partition*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 68.

³⁵ Wolpert, Stanley, *Shameful Flight: The Last Years of the British Empire in India*: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 10.

integrated political economy. My great hope was that communal differences would not destroy this.”³⁶

He strongly suggested the political pioneers to acknowledge energetically the Cabinet mission plan of 16 May 1946. As he thought that arrangement gave the best course of action that could be formulated to meet the interests of the considerable number of networks of India. To my incredible think twice about it has been difficult to acquire understanding either on the Cabinet mission plan or on whatever other arrangement that would save the solidarity of India. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt of constraining any extensive zones in which one network has a larger part to live without wanting to be under a government in which another network has a lion's share.³⁷

Lord Mountbatten also declared the safeguarding of rights of other communities. A watchful thought was given to the situation of the Sikhs. This valiant network framed around an eighth of the number of inhabitants in the Punjab, yet they were distributed to the point that any segment of this territory would unavoidably isolate them. The entire arrangement may not be flawless: however like all designs its prosperity will rely upon the soul of positive attitude with which it is done. He also feared that the exchange of power could be before the Constituent Assemblies had completed their work and it could leave the nation without a constitution. This enactment won't force any confinement on the influence of India in general or of the two new States if partitioned, to choose later on their relationship to one another and to other part

³⁶ “Reports on Lord Mountbatten’s Radio Broadcast on Partition”, *The Times*, 4 June 1947, pp. 1.

³⁷ British Government announcement of 3 June 1947, File No. IOR R/3/1/156, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

conditions of the British Commonwealth. The game plan by which power could be exchanged numerous months sooner than the most idealistically expected and in the meantime abandon it to the general population of British India to choose for themselves on their future.³⁸

The exchange of intensity is to be affected in a quiet and efficient way, each and every one of British government must twist every one of his endeavors to the errand. This was not the appropriate time for quarreling, significantly less for the continuation in any shape or type of the clutters and disorder of since couple of months. British assumed herself to be at a limited edge of nourishment they were on the whole chipping away. They couldn't manage the cost of any toleration of viciousness.³⁹

Mountbatten, in his plan, completed his three-pronged partition arrangements: the secession of Bengal, the division of Punjab and finally, the Indian Army's division. He submitted his plan to the British Cabinet for its approval. A secret agreement chalked out between Mountbatten and the Congress to promote the transfer of power from the date of 1 June 1948 to 15 August 1947.⁴⁰ Congress intentionally gave no time for the formation of Pakistan thus, Muslims experienced great administrative and financial challenges in the beginning.

³⁸ Von Tunzelmann, Alex. *Indian Summer: The Secret History of the End of an Empire* Macmillan, 2007, pp. 15.

³⁹ India: Lord Mountbatten's report on his viceroyalty, File No. CAB 21/5650, TNA, UK, 1948-1965.

⁴⁰ Krishan, Y, "Mountbatten and the Partition of India," *History*, 1983, pp. 25.

The ineluctable result was that provincial governments of both the Eastern Punjab and Western Punjab could not take the proper time to organize themselves. East Punjab government's situation was comparatively worse because Hindus and Sikhs had refused to set up an alternative capital in the Eastern Punjab, the later feared of weakening their flimsy claims in Lahore. If the scheduled date of 1 June 1948 had been implemented, both the East and West governments of Punjab would have been in a better position to maintain law and order in their own administrative units. If the division had been made in line with 1st June 1948, the geographical boundaries would have been in a quite different shape. A British governor and private secretary to viceroy, Sir George Cunningham who had passed his life in India had also seemed this disturbance in the Punjab due to the un-wise decision of Lord Mountbatten.⁴¹

The following map shows the India before partition.



⁴¹ Roberts, Andrew, *Eminent Churchillians*, London: Hachette UK, 2010, pp. 108.

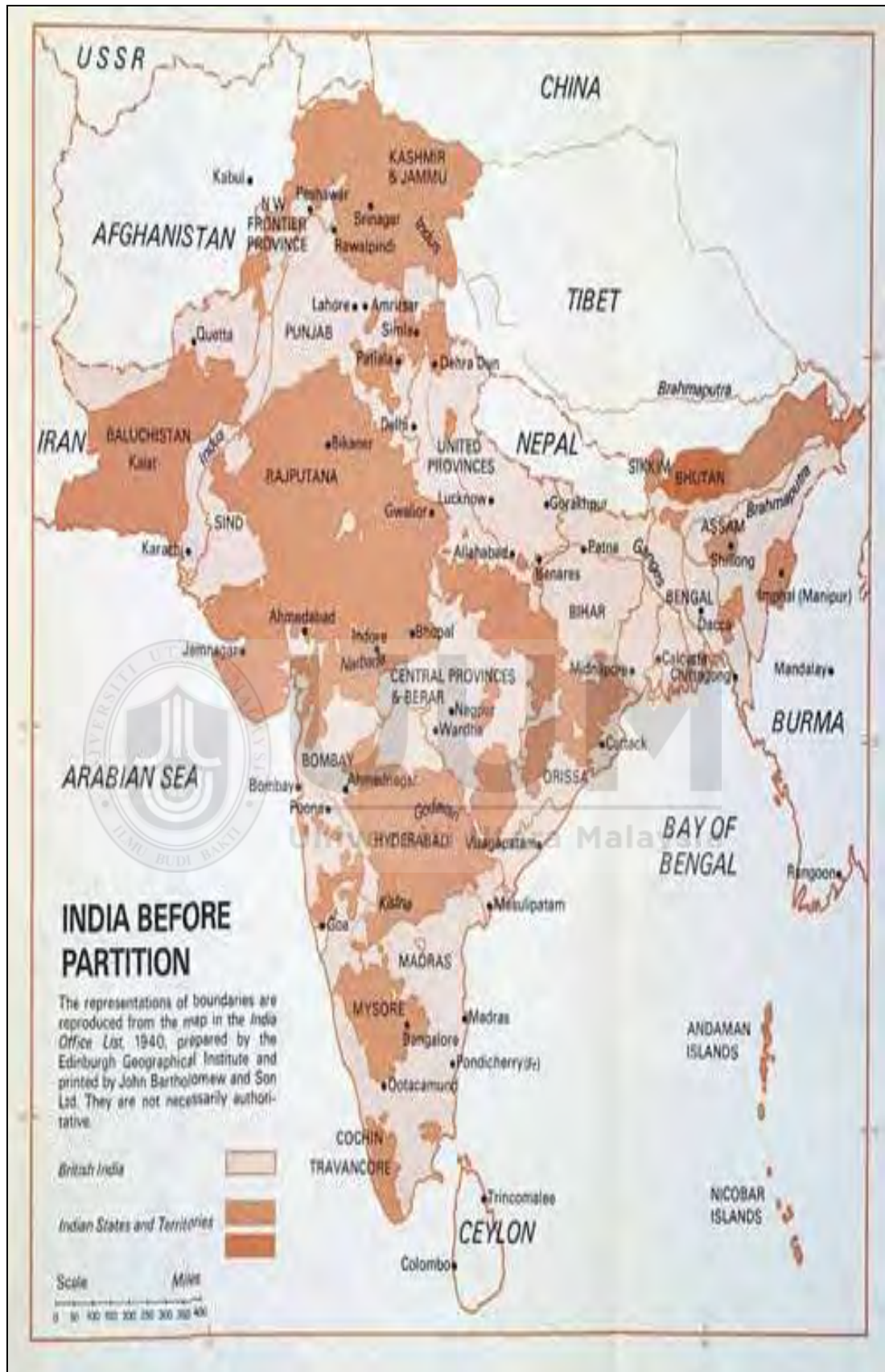


Figure 2.1. Map of India before partition, 1947.

Source:- Indian Independence 1947, Shelfmark: India Before partition, Asia Pacific & Africa OIR 354.54 (Map 1), The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

2.3 North-Western Zones

The geographically epochal units which can form an independent Muslim state in the North-West were the provinces of Punjab, N.W.F.P, Sind and Baluchistan. Muslim percentage in these provinces at the time was as follows:-

Table 2.1

*Population of Muslim in North Western Zone.*⁴²

Unit	Total Population	Muslim	Percentage
Punjab	23,580,852	13,332,460	56.7%
N.W.F.P and administration areas.	2,425,076	2,227,303.	91.2%
Sind	3,887,070	2,830,800	72.7%
British Baluchistan and administrative area.	463,508.	405,309.	87.4%

Source:- The National Archives, Islamabad, 1940.

The current North Western Zone is known as the West Pakistan, as the above table it is clear that the Muslim population in the Punjab is more than the other communities.

2.4 North-Eastern Zones

The geographically epochal units which can form an independent Muslim state in the North-East were the provinces of Bengal and Assam. Muslim percentage in these provinces at the time was as follows;-⁴³

⁴² Lahore Resolution, File No. 1099, The National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1940.

⁴³ Ibid.

Table 2.2

Population of Muslim in North Eastern Zone

Unit	Total Population	Muslims	Percentage
Bengal	50,115,002	27,497,624	54.8%
Assam	8,622,251	2,755,914	31.9%
Total	58,737,253	30,253,538	51.5%

Source:- The National Archives, Islamabad, 1940.

Regrettably that the Muslim population in the province of Assam is not very favorable but the difficulty is that geographically it is not equal with any of the Hindu provinces,⁴⁴ therefore it has to be grouped with Bengal. In order to attain effective majority of Muslims in Bengal it is proposed to exclude Burdwan Division from it, which is overwhelmingly Hindu as and be seen from the following given statement;-⁴⁵ The present Muslim percentage in Bengal including Burdwan Division is 54.8% and after the exclusion of Burdwan Division it rises to 63.3%. The total Muslim population in the North-Eastern zone will be as blow;-⁴⁶

Table 2.3

Population in Bengal and Assam

Unit	Total population	Muslims	Percentage
Bengal ex Burdwan	41,466,813	26,274,845	63.3%
Assam	8,622,251	2,755,914	31.9%
Total	50,089,064	29,030,759	57.9%

Source:- The National Archives, Islamabad, 1940.

⁴⁴ Lahore Resolution, File No. 1099, The National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1940.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

The above is the only proposal that can be made to bring the North-Easter zone as near the Muslim League Resolution as possibly can be done.⁴⁷

2.5 Third June Plan

On 20 February 1947, the British announced their intention of transferring of power in British India to India hand by June 1948.⁴⁸ The provincial legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab was therefore each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the rest other the province. For the purpose of determining the population of districts, the 1941 census figures were taken as authoritative.⁴⁹

The member of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately empowered to vote whether or not the province should be partitioned if a simple majority of entity part decides in favour of partition division could take place and arrangements would be made accordingly. The member of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab was sitting in two parts according to Muslim majority districts and non-Muslim majority districts.⁵⁰ This was only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature as it was evident that for the purpose of final

⁴⁷ Lahore Resolution, File No. 1099, The National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1940.

⁴⁸ Preparation for Transfer of Power, File No. FO 371/63533, The National Archives (TNA), United Kingdom (UK), 1947 see also Admiral Mountbatten by India Office on political situation in Provinces and Central India, File No. PREM 8/559, The National Archives, United Kingdom, 1947 and Extract of Clement Attlee's Minute to the Secretary of State for India on 18 March 1947, File No. L/PJ/10/79, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

⁴⁹ Arrangements for broadcasts by the Prime Minister and the Viceroy announcing the Transfer of Power, File No. PREM 8/551, TNA, UK, 1947 see also Report by Lord Mountbatten on his Viceroyalty of India, File No. DO 142/364, TNA, UK, 1947-1949 and Plan for Transfer of Power in India Announcement in Parliament 3.30 pm 3 June 1947, File No. IOR: L/I/1/768, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

partition of these provinces a detailed investigation of boundary questions was needed and as soon as decision involving partition had been taken for either province, a boundary commission was set up by the Governor-General, the membership and term of reference of which was settled in consultation with those concerned.⁵¹ It was instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the “Contiguous Majority areas of Muslims” and non-Muslims. It was also instructed to take into account “Other Factor”. The principle of division of the subcontinent was based on the adjoining areas: the majority of Muslims in non-Muslim areas should form a continuous majority area of Muslims while Hindu majority areas contiguous to their lands form a continuous majority area of Hindus as stated above. Similar instructions were given to the Bengal Boundary Commission.⁵²

For the partition of Bengal and Punjab it was necessary to hold fresh election to choose their representatives on the scale of one for every million of population according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission’s plan of 16 May 1946.⁵³ Similarly election was to be held for Sylhet in the event of its being decided that this district should form part of East Bengal. The number of representatives to which each area would be entitled is as follow:-⁵⁴

⁵¹ Arrangements for broadcasts by the Prime Minister and the Viceroy announcing the Transfer of Power, File No. PREM 8/551, TNA, UK, 1947 see also Report by Lord Mountbatten on his Viceroyalty of India, File No. DO 142/364, TNA, UK, 1947-1949 and Plan for Transfer of Power in India Announcement in Parliament 3.30 pm 3 June 1947, File No. IOR: L/I/1/768, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Talbot, Ian A, “The 1946 Punjab Elections,” *Modern Asian Studies*, 1980, pp. 65.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Table 2.4

Election Result 1946

Province	General	Muslims	Sikh	Total
Sylhet District	1	2	Nil	3
West Bengal	15	4	Nil	10
West Punjab	3	12	2	17
East Punjab	6	4	2	12
Total	25	22	4	42

Source:- The National Archives, Islamabad, 1940.

In accordance with the mandates given to then the representatives of the various areas was either join the existing constituent Assembly or from the new constituent Assembly⁵⁵. However Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah⁵⁶ stated on this plan that it is clear that the plan does not meet in the some important respect our point of view and we cannot say or feel that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the plan.⁵⁷

2.5.1 Expert Committee

A special committee of the cabinet consisting of the Viceroy i.e Lord Mountbatten, two congress and two League members of the interim government who through a

⁵⁵ Arrangements for broadcasts by the Prime Minister and the Viceroy announcing the Transfer of Power, File No. PREM 8/551, TNA, UK, 1947 see also Report by Lord Mountbatten on his Viceroyalty of India, File No. DO 142/364, TNA, UK, 1947-1949 and Plan for Transfer of Power in India Announcement in Parliament 3.30 pm 3 June 1947, File No. IOR: L/I/1/768, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

⁵⁶ Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan known as *Quaid-i-Azam*, "The Great Leader" and *Baba-i-Qaum*, "Father of the Nation", Burke, Samuel Martin, and Salim al-Din Quraishi. *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: His Personality and His Politics*. Oxford University Press, USA, 1997, pp. 1.

⁵⁷ Broadcast speech on third June, 1947 from the All India Radio, New Delhi giving his reaction on 3rd June 1947 Plan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches as Governor General of Pakistan 1947-1948, Karachi: Sang-e-Meel Publication, 2006, pp. 9.

steering committee of two officers was established which conducted and co-ordinate detailed investigation at expert level on various problem arising from the partition of the country.⁵⁸ There were all to be altogether ten such expert committees and each one then received assistance from the departmental concerned. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Dr. Rajendra Prasad was the two congress member and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar were the two Muslim League members who with Lord Mountbatten formed the special committee.⁵⁹ As soon however as the decision of the provinces indicate that there would be a partition, the special committee of the cabinet replaced by a partition council which represented the interest of the two future government.⁶⁰

The Steering committee acted as a Liasion between the special committee at the top and ten expert committees. It consisted of Mr. H.M Patel⁶¹ and Mr. Muhammad Ali.⁶² Besides coordinating the report of the several expert committees, it presented to the partition council for decision with a view to secure the implementation in time and also gave necessary direction and guidance to the several expert committees.⁶³

⁵⁸ Memorandum No. 14/P.O/1054 Government of India (Partition Office) New Delhi, the 18 June 1947, File No. IOR: L/I/1/768, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Hirubhai Mulljibhai Patel was an Indian civil servant who played a major role in the partition of India from Hindus side. [https://www.revolvy.com/page/Indian-Civil-Service-\(British-India\)](https://www.revolvy.com/page/Indian-Civil-Service-(British-India)) retrieved on 23 February 2019.

⁶² Chaudhary Mohammad Ali was an Indian civil servant who played a major role in the partition of India from Muslim side. He was the fourth Prime Minister of Pakistan. He is also the writer of a book. In spite of the fact that primarily about the years 1946-1948, the last two sections manage financial aspects, money related, managerial, and political issues. Chaudhry Muhammad Ali has given a vital reference work to understudies of Pakistan and South Asian history. Ali, Chaudhri Muhammad, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1967, pp. 200.

⁶³ Memorandum No. 14/P.O/1054 Government of India (Partition Office) New Delhi, the 18 June 1947, File No. IOR: L/I/1/768, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

The expert committee dealt respectively with such problem as division of the armed Force, organization, record and personnel, assets and liabilities, revenue, currency and exchange economic relation, domicile, foreign relations and contract. The expert committee of partition also decided that the financial assets and liabilities may be divided between East and West Punjab according to the 36% and 64% respectively.⁶⁴ For the division of armed force because of its sensitivity a separate committee and council namely Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee (AFRC) and a Joint Defense Council (JDC) were constructed.⁶⁵

2.6 Establishment of Boundary Commission

With the passing of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, Pakistan and India were divided into two independent states. On 4 July 1947, this Act was presented in the House of Commons in the British where it was resolved that a boundary commission would determine the new boundaries.⁶⁶ Initially it was proposed that the task of demarcating the boundaries of the Punjab and Bengal should be given to the United Nations or the International Court of Justice. Quaid-i-Azam supported the suggestion but Nehru opposed it on the grounds that it would involve undue delay.⁶⁷ Mounbatten, who sought to placate the Congress, dropped the idea. Jinnah then

⁶⁴ File No. V-147, Reports of expert committees in connection with the partition of the Punjab Province on the division of financial assets and liabilities, Punjab archives, Lahore, 1948, pp. 1 see also Agendas of the meetings of the Punjab partition committee from the 1 July to 11 August 1947, File No. V-143(1), Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1947, pp. 35 and Record of decisions of the meetings of the Punjab Partition committee from the 1 July to 11 August 1947, File No. 126, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1947, pp. 40.

⁶⁵ Chiefs of Staff Committee, Situation in India and Pakistan, Report by the Supreme Commander Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck, File No. DEFE 05/02, TNA, UK, 1947.

⁶⁶ Indian Independence Act, 1947, File No. IOR: L/PO/6/122, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

⁶⁷ Campbell-Johnson, Alan, *Mission with Mounbatten*, London: Robert Hale, 1951, pp. 124.

proposed that three judges of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Britain should be appointed as the members of the Boundary Commission. Mountbatten again rejected this proposal on the ground that the elderly judges would not be able to withstand the heat of the Indian summer.⁶⁸ But the Quaid-i-Azam's desire was to appoint three Law Lords from the United Kingdom for the boundary commissions as impartial members. But he was informed that the Law Lords could not face the scorching heat of summers as they were elderly persons. Later on, Lord Mountbatten convinced him to accept the appointment of an English lawyer, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, as the chairman of both the boundary commissions who would have the power to make the award and the appointment of Radcliffe was made on 4th July with the Viceroy letter to secretary of state of India.⁶⁹

The boundary commission was bound to have an equal number of representatives of India and Pakistan coupled with one or more impartial members. The conflicts were imminent to arise between the representatives of Hindus and Muslims. The reconciliation between both these parties on an agreeable formula regarding the partition of Punjab and Bengal was impossible without the involvement of an impartial third party, or members of each boundary commission having high integrity as to win universal trust. Mountbatten then came up with the final idea of appointing two Boundary Commissions in the Punjab and Bengal. Bengal Commission was assigned with the responsibility of managing Assam.⁷⁰ To satisfy both the parties, the

⁶⁸ H.V. Hodson, *The Great Divide: Britain-India-Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1985, pp. 346.

⁶⁹ Letter from Viceroy to Secretary of State of India, File No. IOR: L/PJ/7/12500, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

⁷⁰ Minutes of Viceroy's Staff Meeting, June 25, 1947, in Mansergh and Moon, *Transfer of Power*, Vol. XI, pp. 634-636.

Congress and the Muslim League, it was decided that each Commission was to be composed of four High Court Judges, two Muslims and two non-Muslims, under the command of an English man as Chairman. The Muslim judges were to be nominated by the Muslim League and the non-Muslim judges by the Congress. It was also agreed that one of the two judges nominated by the Congress for the Punjab Commission should be a Sikh.⁷¹ Mountbatten also suggested that same person should be appointed as Chairman of both the Commissions so that he would be able to adjust any slight loss one state might have to suffer in one particular area by compensating it in another.⁷²

At the partition Committee's meeting on 26 June 1947, Mountbatten nominated Radcliffe for the joint Chairmanship of both the commissions.⁷³ Both the Congress and the Muslim League had no other option but to accept nomination of Radcliffe. The two political parties recommended their nominees as the members of the two commissions. The Muslim League nominated Abu Saleh Mohammad Akram⁷⁴ and S.A. Rahman⁷⁵ for the Bengal Boundary Commission and Din Mohammad⁷⁶ and

⁷¹ Minutes of Viceroy's Miscellaneous Meeting, June 13, 1947, in Mansergh and Moon, *Transfer of Power*, Vol. XI, pp. 320-329.

⁷² Minutes of the Special Committee of the Indian Cabinet, June 26, 1947, in Mansergh and Moon, *Transfer of Power*, Vol. XI, pp. 650-657.

⁷³ Arbitral Tribunal to deal with matters arising out of the Partition of India. Proposal that Sir Cyril Radcliffe should be made a Privy Councillor and his appointment as Chairman of the Boundary Commission, File No. LCO 2/3234, TNA, UK, 1947.

⁷⁴ Mr. Justice Abu Saleh Mohmed was acted as judge of Calcutta small causes court and Calcutta High Court variously from 10th April 1937, File No. IOR: L/I/1/770, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

⁷⁵ Mr. Justice Shaikh Abdul Rehman, M.A (Punjab), B.A (Hons.) Oxford joined the Indian Civil Services 29 September 1928 and served in the Punjab as Assistant commissioner; judge, judge small cases court (April 1933); District and Session judge (December 1937), File No. IOR: L/I/1/770, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

Mohammad Munir⁷⁷ for the Punjab Boundary Commission. While the Congress nominated C. Biswas⁷⁸ and B.K. Mukherji⁷⁹ for the Bengal Boundary Commission and Teja Singh⁸⁰ and Mehr Chand Mahajan⁸¹ for the Punjab Boundary Commission. Thus, the two Boundary Commissions were finalized on 30 June. The Boundary Commission was instructed to demarcate boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab and Bengal on the basis of Muslim and non-Muslim majority population. However, it was also to take into account “other factors”, while making a decision. Interestingly, the term “other factors” was kept vague and the Commission had every right to have its own interpretation of the term.⁸²

The problem with the composition of the two Commissions was that due to charged conditions prevailing at that time it was obvious that the Muslim members would favour Pakistan and the non-Muslim members would favour India. This gave the

⁷⁶ Mr. Justice Din Muhammad born 2 December 1886; joined Punjab Judicial Department, 2 October 1933; appointed judge Lahore High Court, 27 March 1934, recently acted as Chairman, Air Transport Licensing Board, New Delhi, File No. IOR: L/I/1/770, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

⁷⁷ Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir, born 3 May 1895; joined Punjab Judicial Department, 3 July 1937 as Assistant to the Advocate General, Punjab. Served on the Central Board of Revenue and as President, Income Tax appellate Tribunal before being appointed a judge of Lahore High Court on 28 September 1942, File No. IOR: L/I/1/770, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

⁷⁸ Mr. Justice Charu Chandra, C.I.E. appointed officiating Judge of the Calcutta High Court, 1 March 1937, confirmed 20 January 1940, File No. IOR: L/I/1/770, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

⁷⁹ Mr. Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherji, M.A, D.L. appointed senior Government Pleader 4 June 1935, judge of the Calcutta High court 3 July 1939, File No. IOR: L/I/1/770, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

⁸⁰ Mr. Justice Teja Singh Sardar, B.A, L.L.B, born 1 January 1889, joined the Punjab Civil Service, 8 July 1932 and appointed District and Session Judge; Judge of the Lahore High Court 27 September 1943. Granted title of the Sardar Bahadur, 11 May 1937, publications commentary on the Punjab pre-emption Act of 1913, File No. IOR: L/I/1/770, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

⁸¹ Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan, born 22 December 1889, appointed judge Lahore High Court on, 27 September 1943, File No. IOR: L/I/1/770, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

⁸² “Punjab Boundary Commission”, *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 16 July 1947, pp. 5.

final verdict and thus the future of the Punjab and Bengal rested in the hands of one man, i.e. Radcliffe. Radcliffe was one of the leaders of English Bar was born on 30 March 1899. He married in 1939 Antiona, daughter of the 1st Born Charnwood. He was educated at Haileybury and new college oxford. He was a Fellow of all Souls College Oxford 1922-33; Eldon Law Scholar 1924; call to the Bar (Inner Temple) 1924; Benchers 1943; held various appointment at Ministry of Information 1939-41; Director General Minister of Information 1941-45. He was at that time Vice-Chairman of the General Council of the Bar.⁸³

2.6.1 Commission Procedure

The Commission consisted of four judges, two Muslims, a Hindu and a Sikh before whom the case were legally argued, Congress opening and closing the debate. At a meeting of the Punjab Boundary Commission held in Lahore on Monday 14 July 1947, it was decided that any organization which may wish to submit their memorandum for consideration by the commission regarding partition of the Punjab should do so on Friday 18 July 1947.⁸⁴ The Punjab boundary commission had been instructed to complete its report by 6 August 1947.⁸⁵

2.7 Function of Boundary Commission and its Challenges

As the 3rd June partition plan ensured that at the time of division of the Punjab and Bengal, a Boundary Commission would be established which would settle the terms and conditions necessary for the partition in consultation with the members of both

⁸³ Information Department Telegram No. 2265/47 from Secretary of State for India to viceroy, File No. IOR: L/PJ/7/12500, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947 see also "Sir Cyril Radcliffe", *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 6 July 1947, pp. 1.

⁸⁴ "Punjab Boundary Commission", *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 16 July 1947, pp. 12.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

the parties. The demarcation of boundaries was to be done in accordance with the two parts of the Punjab on the ground of the contiguous majority areas of both the communities keeping in view the other factors as well. The function of the commission was to demarcate boundaries between two parts on the basis of the ascertained contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. The commission would also take account of “other factors”.⁸⁶ It was further agreed that the partition of Bengal will come into effect on the same grounds as that for Punjab. The provisional boundaries would not be demarcated till the submission of report by the Boundary commission.⁸⁷

2.7.1 Boundary Commission on Bengal

While declaring the Awards the term “other factors” was profusely used to provide benefit to India getting some Muslim majority areas in the Bengal. But at the same time it was ignored by Radcliffe, when it came to the decision on Calcutta. The commercial hub of Bengal was awarded to India on the basis of non-Muslim majority in the city. However, it was totally ignored that in Calcutta neither Muslims nor Caste Hindus were in a majority. The Muslim League claimed that the Scheduled Caste, who had the decisive vote, was aligned to the cause of Pakistan. Jinnah also demanded a plebiscite in the city as the Muslim League was quite sure that it would come out in favour of Pakistan. To make the case of the Muslim League further strong, it was pointed out that the majority of the people living in the suburbs of Calcutta were also Muslims.

⁸⁶ “Boundary Commission”, *The Statesman*, Calcutta, 7 July 1947, pp. 3 see also “Punjab Boundary Commission”, *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 16 July 1947, pp. 5.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

The economy of East Bengal was based on the city of Calcutta, which besides being the only major port of the province was also the centre of industry, commerce, communication and education. To add to it the city was developed mainly with the resources of East Bengal. All the raw material especially jute, which was used by the mills in Calcutta, was provided by East Bengal. The port workers and seamen working in Calcutta mostly came from East Bengal. Jinnah was familiar that Bengal could never survive alone without the support of Calcutta.⁸⁸ Calcutta was also the center of all the means of communication, education, commerce and industry. Moreover, it had a well-established port for exports and imports. In the treaty of the Bengal on that time there were two great River dependent on the Ganges and Brahmaputra. Neither river gave access to Chittagong which was served by a comparatively small river navigable only for a very short distance. The river network of Bengal comprised of various smaller channels connecting to the Calcutta port.⁸⁹ Chittagong was served with a narrow gauge railway not capable of carrying very much traffic. Any economic development on a considerable scale of the Eastern portion of Pakistan must take a very long time.⁹⁰ Sir John Anderson Said,⁹¹ “but I hope in the financial and economic adjustments that are made special consideration

⁸⁸ Interview between Mountbatten and Jinnah, April 10, 1947, Mansergh and Moon, *Jinnah Papers*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 648-51.

⁸⁹ “Punjab Boundary Commission”, *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 16 July 1947, pp. 6.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ John Anderson (1882-1958) was a British government worker and lawmaker who is best known for his administration in the Cabinet amid the Second World War. Anderson joined the War Cabinet in October 1940 as Lord President of the Council. In this post, he was arranging regular citizen and financial assets. He was additionally in charge of smothering the Communist Party supporting Daily Worker. In October 1943 he moved toward becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer where he presented the PAYE framework for money charge installment. At the point when the Labour Party won the 1945 General Election, he left the administration. Anderson, who lost his seat in the House of Commons in 1950, was made Viscount Waverley of Westdean in 1952. <https://spartacus-educational.com/2WWandersonJ.htm> retrieved on 26 February 2019.

will be given to the backward countries of that portion of the Bengal which will go into Pakistan and to the need for development.⁹²

East Bengal was dependent on Calcutta for the processing of its raw jute. Otherwise, it would be “rural slum” according to Tyson,⁹³ the then Secretary to the Governor of Bengal. As there was no direct land route between East Pakistan and West Pakistan, so the port of Calcutta was very important for sea communication between the two territories of newly-born Pakistan. In other words, the economic prosperity of Pakistan was related to the future of Calcutta. Under such circumstances, the Congress was insisting for retaining Calcutta while the Muslim League wanted Calcutta to be a part of East Bengal (Pakistan). Both the parties struggled to the last for Calcutta as an integral part of their territories. In the opinion of Sir Frederick John Burrows,⁹⁴ there was a chance to diminish the conflict, thus, preventing a clash of grave consequences. As the Governor of Bengal, he strongly advocated of making Calcutta a free port where both East and West Bengal would hold its control and the river system of Bengal was connected with a network of minor waterways all giving access to the port of Calcutta.⁹⁵ But Mountbatten did not agree to his formula.⁹⁶ In this respect, while addressing a public speech on 16 January 1950 Patel declared:

⁹² “Punjab Boundary Commission”, *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 16 July 1947, pp. 6.

⁹³ Sir John Tyson was the Private Secretary to the governor of the Bengal from 1930-1935, Na, *John Anderson: Viscount Waverley*. Springer, 2015, pp. 127.

⁹⁴ Sir Frederick John Burrows (1887-1973) was a British administrator and served as the Governor of Bengal from 1946-1947. Moreover he was against the partition of India. <https://www.revolvy.com/page/Frederick-Burrows> retrieved on 23 February 2019.

⁹⁵ “Boundary line along River Chenab”, *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 16 July 1947, pp. 5.

⁹⁶ Campbell-Johnson, Alan, *Mission with Mountbatten*, London: Robert Hale, 1951, pp. 207.

“We made a condition that we could only agree to partition if we did not lose Calcutta. If Calcutta is gone, then India is gone.”⁹⁷

The importance of Calcutta for East Bengal was also admitted by the British. Hence, Burrows suggested that in case of the division of Bengal, Calcutta should be excluded from both the parts and administered by a council.⁹⁸ When Mountbatten rejected the idea,⁹⁹ Burrows warned him that the inclusion of Calcutta in West Bengal would make the situation further complicated in Bengal and might cause riots in Calcutta. Radcliffe himself was aware of the importance of Calcutta for both the countries and thus discussed the idea of dividing the city between the two states in the meeting of the Boundary Commission. It was the wealthier city in the whole of Bengal. For nearly two centuries, the Muslims vested all their resources in Bengal and the whole wealth of Muslim peasantry had grown Calcutta to a great eminence. All the bulk of raw jute and its fine varieties were being produced in the East Bengal, but all the mills for its processing were located in or near Calcutta.

However, in the end all the above factors were ignored and Calcutta was awarded to India. This demonstrates that Radcliffe’s interpretation of the phrase; “other factors” did not favour Pakistan. While drawing the boundaries at places he applied the formula of giving non-Muslim majority areas to India but at the other places he used the provision of “other factors” for giving Muslim majority areas to India. At some

⁹⁷ Ali, Chaudhri Muhammad, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1967, pp. 208.

⁹⁸ Note by Christie, 27 April 1947, Mansergh and Moon, *Transfer of Power*, Vol. X, pp. 457-558.

⁹⁹ Mountbatten to Burrows, 28 April 1947, Mansergh and Moon, *Transfer of Power*, Vol. X, pp. 471-472.

places he drew the boundaries on the basis of existing districts, while at times he even divided *Tehsils* and *sub-Tehsils*.

A great injustice was done on the part of Radcliffe. He not only assigned Calcutta to India but also assigned the whole district of Murshidabad to India which was a Muslim Majority district. The area of Murshidabad in Bengal was given to India whose total population was 1,646,530 and the Muslims constituted 56.55% of this total population. In addition, the 2/3 part of Nadia district was also given away to India whose total population was 1,759,856 where Muslims constituted 61.26%. Similarly, the Muslims constituted 56.4% and 61.5% of the total population of village of Navi and Gegatyha, respectively but these areas were too handed over to India. In addition, Radcliffe handed over the areas of Halda district and Daniajpur district to India where Muslims constituted 56.78% and 50.20% of the total population, respectively. Another task of the Bengal Boundary Commission was to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and districts of Assam that were contiguous with East Bengal.¹⁰⁰

The representatives of both Pakistan and India interpreted differently the meaning of the term “adjoining districts of Assam”. At the end, Radcliffe gave his consent to the view of Indian members and referred that “adjoining districts of Assam” were meant only to those districts of Assam which adjoin Sylhet district. Resultantly, some non-Muslim territories were retained by East Bengal and some Muslim territories were assigned to Assam. While assigning Assam the total six thousand square miles of

¹⁰⁰ Mountbatten to Burrows, 28 April 1947, Mansergh and Moon, *Transfer of Power*, Vol. X, pp. 471-472.

land with a Muslim population of three and a half million which should have been included in East Pakistan were awarded to India.¹⁰¹

Later on, there was a dispute over the demarcation of the boundary separating East Bengal from West Bengal and Assam. In accordance with an agreed declaration by the prime ministers of both India and Pakistan in 1958, the government of India is still refusing to hand over the Berubari Union to Pakistan.¹⁰² In this way, India got the lion's share of nearly 6,000 square miles of land having 3.5 million Muslims that were forced to migrate towards West Bengal. It was a great loss for Muslims. While discussing the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where the population was almost entirely Buddhist, were included in Pakistan. As regards Sylhet district of Assam, the Bengal Boundary Commission took away the whole of the district minus four *thanas* from the province of Assam to East Bengal. Yet the areas of Karim Ganj and Badarpur, despite their Muslim majorities were given to India. The following map shows the partition boundaries in Bengal and Assam in 1947.

¹⁰¹ Interview between Mountbatten and Jinnah, April 10, 1947, Mansergh and Moon, *Jinnah Papers*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 379.

¹⁰² Ali, Chaudhri Muhammad, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1967, pp. 305.

Sutlej rivers expect where Amritsar brought a broad salient of East Punjab territory into the Bari Doab.¹⁰³ The Punjab has one of the greatest traditions of the country or any part of the world. Its reputation in all the major wars through this country had passed had been “unequally by almost any other party in these areas which came into contact with British.” Its loyalty had been un questionable.¹⁰⁴

The Punjab may be considered as consisting of two wings, a western along the Indus and eastern between the five Rivers Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. The western wing and all but a fringe of the eastern along Sutlej were not in dispute, the battle range over the central Doabs and especially over the easternmost, the upper Bari Doab between Beas and Ravi. This contain three of the province, the fifth largest and one of the finest cities of India; Amritsar with a 46.5% Muslim area and Gurdaspur a very marginal district, culturally very strongly Muslim with a majority of 51.4%.¹⁰⁵

In the Punjab, the Congress and the Sikhs claimed the Muslim majority areas and tried to persuade the Commission for shifting the boundary as far west as the river Chenab. In other words, they were claiming the Muslim majority districts such as Gurdaspur, Gujranwala, Lahore, Sheikhupura, Layallpur, Montgomery and Sialkot to be included in East Punjab (India). Their main argument was that the areas such as

¹⁰³ Paper to be read before joint meeting of the East India Association and the overseas League at overseas House, Park Place, St. James's, S.W.1, on Tuesday, October 7, 1947, File No. IOR: L/1/1/778, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

¹⁰⁴ Speech of Lord Mountbatten, Transfer of Power, Allegation against Lord Mountbatten regarding Sikh & Boundary Award, September 1947- July 1948 File No. IOR: L/P J/10/119, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947 see also “Boundary line along River Chenab”, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 16 July 1947, pp. 5.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

Nankana Sahib, which was located in Sheikhpora, had the holy places of Sikh shrines. In the same way, the Muslim members could have claimed Delhi, Sirhind and Ajmer, which had the holy places of Muslims. The Congress and the Sikhs were also claiming for Lahore as it was the capital of the Punjab despite the fact that Lahore was a Muslim majority district and it was by no means contiguous to Indian soil. It only showed the stubbornness of the Hindus and Sikhs.

On the other hand, the Muslim League was psychologically inclined to shift the boundary towards the east as much as possible. It claimed the whole territory of Lahore division including a part of the Jullundur division. Overall, the Muslim members demanded only the contiguous Muslim majority areas and by no means demanded for non-Muslim majority areas. The Bengal Commission sat at Calcutta from 16-24 July 1947 and again from 4-6 August 1947 and the Punjab Commission remained in session at Lahore from 21 July to 31 July. Radcliffe also visits Lahore. The main objective of the visit was to layout the procedure whereby the commission set out to collect evidence.¹⁰⁶ Radcliffe had brief visits to Calcutta and Lahore but he actually set up his headquarters at Delhi. Proceedings of the two Commissions were reported to him on daily basis and he considered it sufficient to read the record of the Commissions' sessions and their respective reports. As expected, the differences arose between the Muslim and non-Muslim members and a unanimous decision of the commission became practically impossible and the importance of the casting vote of the Chairman further increased. Since the two Commissions could not arrive at a consensus, the final Awards were mainly authored by Radcliffe.

¹⁰⁶ "Sir Cyril Radcliff in Lahore", *The Civil and Military Gazette* 15 July 1947, pp. 1.

The Muslim League believed that while demarcating the borders, Radcliffe failed to provide justice. In the Punjab, using the “other factors” as a justification, the award gave vast area with Muslim majorities to the East of the river Ravi to India. The *Tehsils* of Gurdaspur and Batala in the district of Gurdaspur with a Muslim majority of 52.1 percent and 55.06 percent respectively, were placed in India. The same happened to the Muslim-majority *Tehsils* of Jullundur with 51.1 percent Muslim population and Nakodar with 59.2 percent Muslim population, in Jullundur district. The *Tehsils* of Zira with 65.2 percent Muslim population and Ferozpur with 55.2 percent Muslim population were given to the East Punjab on the plea that the decision in favour of Pakistan would disturb communications. Pathankot *Tehsil* and the rich Muslim industrial town of Batala were given to India. Even a part of Lahore district was broken off as Radcliffe decided to draw a village to village boundary. Muslim majority *Tehsil* of Ajnala in Amritsar district with 59.4 percent Muslim majority was also united with India.¹⁰⁷ On the contrary, not a single Hindu majority *Tehsil* in the Punjab was awarded to Pakistan. The following map showed the partition boundaries in Punjab in 1947.

¹⁰⁷ “The Award”, *The Pakistan Times*, 19 August 1947, pp. 2.

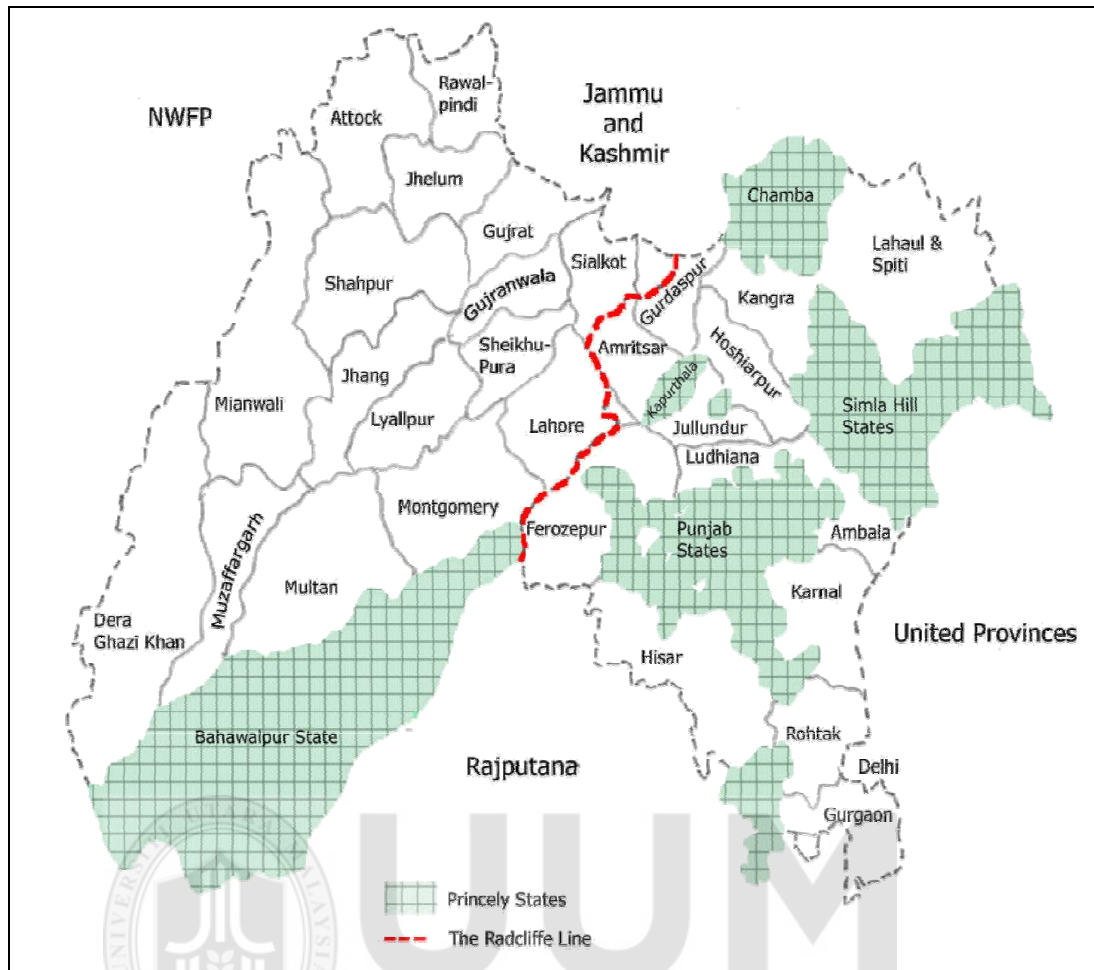


Figure 2.3. Map of partition of Punjab, 1947.

Source:- Chatta, Ilyas Ahmad, *Partition and its Aftermath: Violence, Migration and the Role of Refugees in the Socio-Economic Development of Gujranwala and Sialkot Cities, 1947-196*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Southampton, 2009, pp. xv.

2.7.3 Issue of Kashmir

The state of Jammu and Kashmir was of prime importance with respect to agriculture as nearly all the rivers find their origin from this state. Its total area was 84,471 square miles. It was the biggest state of India. It was strategically a very important state as its international boundaries were with Tibet, Russia, and Afghanistan. According to the 1941 census, the total population of the state was about 4 million with 77 percent Muslims. The Muslims enjoyed majority in every province of the state. Of the total population, Muslims constituted 61 percent in Jammu province; 93

percent in the Kashmir province; and nearly 100 percent in the Gilgit. The following figure clearly shows the religious based distribution of population in Kashmir.

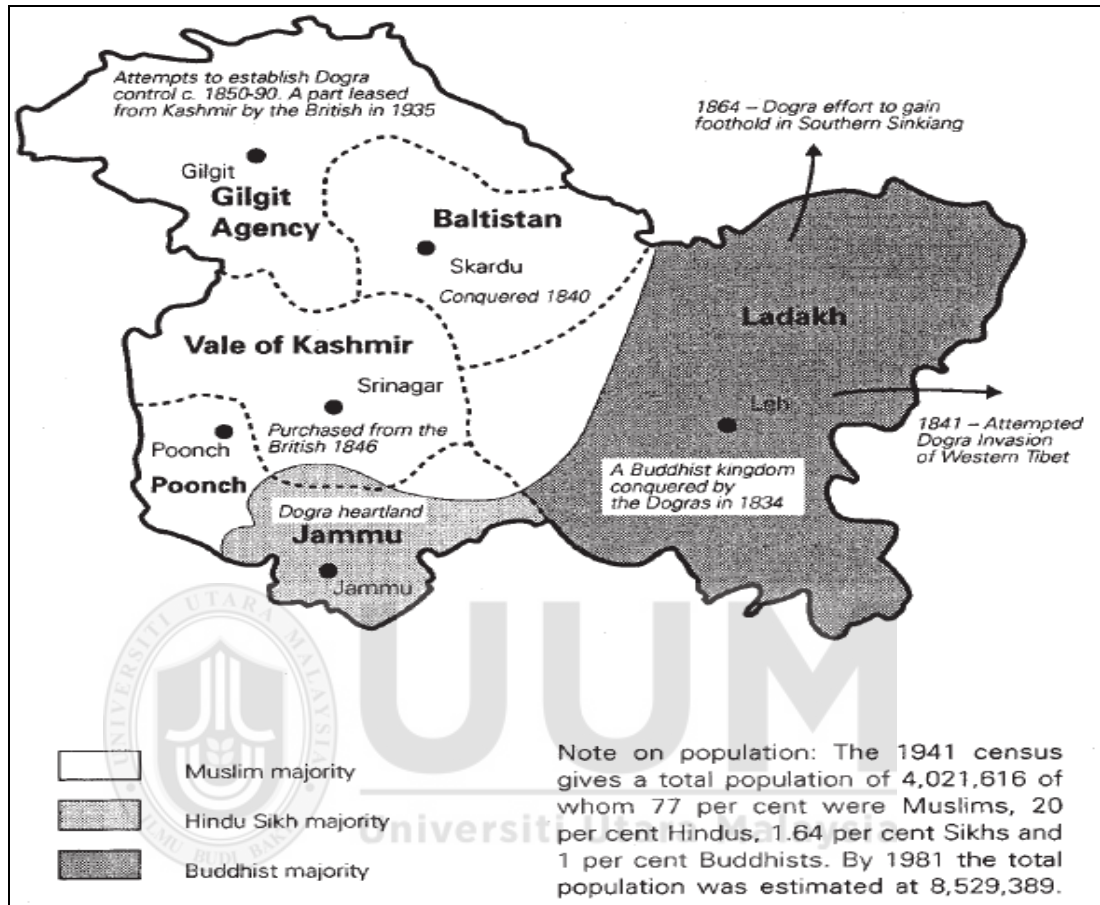


Figure 2.4. Religious based distribution of population in Kashmir, 1947.

Source:- Schofield, Victoria, *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War*, London: IB Tauris, 2000, pp. 161.

In 20 April 1948, the Commander in Chief of Pakistan Army said:

“It is obvious that a general offensive is about to start very soon now. If Pakistan is not to face another serious refugee problem with about 275,000 people uprooted from their homes, if India is not to be allowed to sit on the doorsteps of Pakistan to the rear and on the flank at liberty to enter at its will and pleasure; if the civilian and military morale is not to be affected at dangerous extent; and if subversive political forces are not to be encouraged and let loose within Pakistan

itself, it is imperative that the Indian Army is not allowed to advance beyond the general line of Uri-Poonch Naoshera”.¹⁰⁸



Figure 2.5. Map of Kashmir, 1947.

Source:- Schofield, Victoria, *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War*, London: IB Tauris, 2000, pp. 161.

Like Bengal, the partition of Punjab was completely an injustice. The Radcliffe Award entitled a number of Muslim majority contiguous areas to India, but it did not entitle even a single non-Muslim majority area to Pakistan. The total population of Gurdaspur was 328,819 where Muslims constituted 52.16%, while the total population of *Tehsil* Batala was 830,053 where Muslims constituted 55.07%, were also made part of India along with Pathankot *Tehsil* to create a linkage between India and the Muslim majority state of Jammu and Kashmir. If these areas had not been

¹⁰⁸ Ali, Chaudhri Muhammad, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1967, pp. 305.

given to India, the Kashmir issue could not have erupted from the very beginning. At partition an invitation for accession has also been sent to the Kashmir to join the Indian Union, but, as it lies outside its boundaries, no special stress has been laid.¹⁰⁹

The following figure is showing the boundaries of Gurdaspur district.

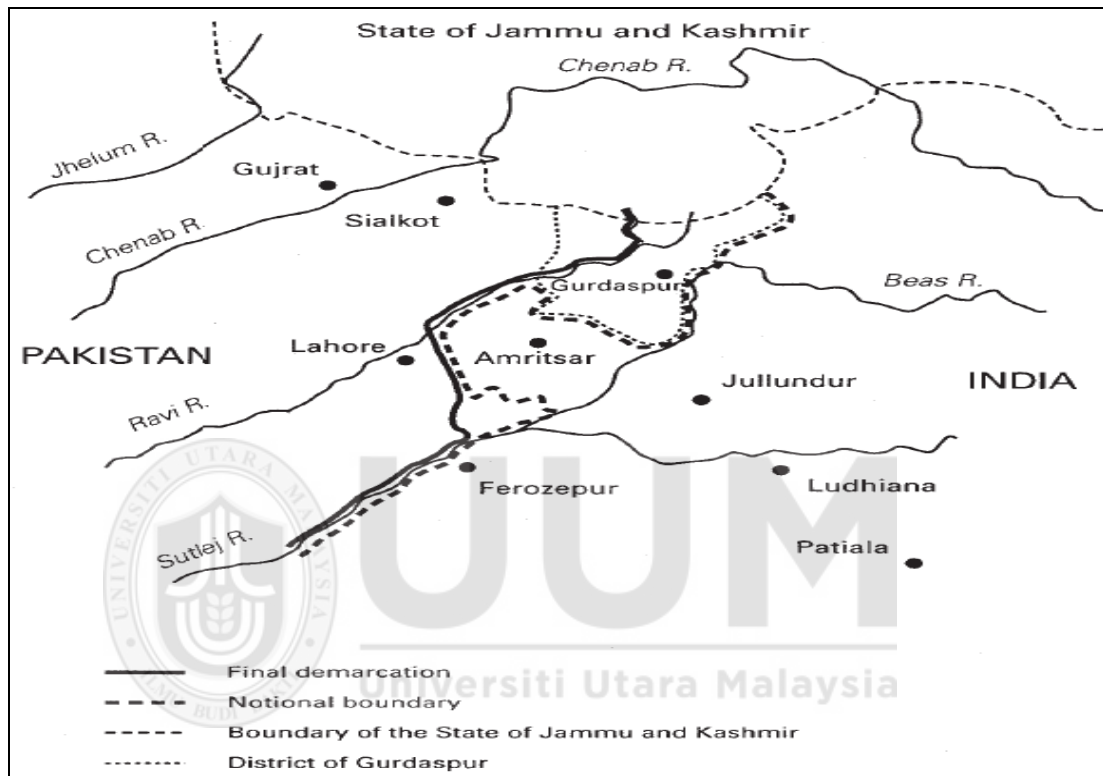


Figure 2.6. Showing Gurdaspur District, 1947.

Source:- Schofield, Victoria, *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War*, London: IB Tauris, 2000, pp. 36.

Alastair Lamb in his book “Kashmir a disputed legacy” wrote: The Kashmir issue existed between the congress and the British since 1947 in which Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League were kept away. Kashmir was made a part of India hidden from the eyes of Muslims.” The Muslim majority Tehsils like Ajnala, Nakodar and Jullundur, Zira and Ferozepore of the Amritsar district, the Jullundur district and Ferozepore district were entitled to India. There were in particular 0.7 million

¹⁰⁹ “Hyderabad to join Indian Union?”, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 18 July 1947, pp. 1.

refugees from Kashmir¹¹⁰ and that migration was still continued as 0.4 refugee crossed the border from occupied Kashmir by Indian in 1965.¹¹¹ The partiality in the partition of Punjab is crystal clear as many Muslim majority areas were assigned to India that was contiguous to West Punjab.¹¹²

Lord Birdwood,¹¹³ an officer of the Indian Army with great experience, expressed the view that “it was Radcliffe’s Award to India of the Gurdaspur and Batala Tehsils with Muslim majorities which rendered possible the maintenance of an Indian force at Jammu based on Pathankot as railhead and which enabled India to consolidate her defense southwards all the way from Uri to Pakistan border.”¹¹⁴ and also the Lord Ismay sent a letter to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on 11 August 1947 in which said that

“1. A large portion of Gurdaspur has been given to the East Punjab by the award of the Boundary Commission. The Report is that this is a political decision, and not a judicial one:

¹¹⁰ Record of conversation between the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Hon. Nawab Mushtaq Ahmd Gurmatnt, Ex Minister of Kashmir Affairs in the Pakistan Government, Settlement of Kashmiri refugees in Pakistan, File No. DO 35/3042, TNA, UK, 1949 See also Refugee problem, future of the Azad Kashmir Army File No. DO 134/6, TNA, UK, 1949.

¹¹¹ Refugees From India, File No. DO 196/470, TNA, UK, 1965.

¹¹² Cohen, Stephen Philip, “India, Pakistan and Kashmir,” *India as an Emerging Power*, Routledge, 2004, pp. 33.

¹¹³ William Riddell Birdwood (1865-1951) was Field Marshal in the British Indian Army posted to the 12th Lancers in India, transferring in 1887 to the 11th Bengal Lancers, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/birdwood-william-riddell-baron-birdwood-5240> retrieved 26 February 2019.

¹¹⁴ Birdwood, L, *Two Nation and Kashmir*, London: Robert Hale, 1956, pp. 156.

2. If this is so; it is a grave injustice which will amount to a breach of faith on the part of the British”.¹¹⁵

It is also an opinion that Hari Singh, Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir would find it very difficult to protect himself against the pressure of the Congress unless at the right moment they joined one or other of the Constituent Assemblies.¹¹⁶ It was not for him to suggest which constituent assembly they should join, but clearly Kashmir should work this court for themselves on the basis of the best advantage to the rule and his people, and in consideration of the factor of geography and the probable attitude of the Congress and the Muslims League respectively to Kashmir.¹¹⁷ Pandit Nehru felt very strongly about Kashmir and it would be extremely difficult to the British to do anything to help to protect Kashmir after the 15th August, when Pandit Nehru became Prime Minister of India.¹¹⁸

The majority of Kashmir's population is Muslim but its Hindu ruler at the time of independence announced its accession to India. Pakistan contests that accession, has been willing to use force to undo it, and demands the implementation of United Nations resolutions calling for a plebiscite to determine the wishes of Kashmiri people.¹¹⁹ Pakistan assume that a plebiscite will result in a vote in its favor, based on the logic of partition that led to all contiguous Muslim-majority provinces and

¹¹⁵ *The Partition of the Punjab 1947: A Compilation of Official Documents*, National Document Centre, Lahore, 1983, Vol. III, pp. 85.

¹¹⁶ Earl Mountbatten views on Kashmir, File No. DO 196/425, TNA, UK, 1964 see also Note of conversation between H.E and Pandit Kat, Prime Minister of Kashmir, File No. R/1/3/137, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Haqqani, Husain, "Pakistan's Endgame in Kashmir," *India Review*, 2003, pp. 35.

princely states under British rule or paramount in India to form Pakistan in 1947. India insists that Kashmir's accession is not only a settled matter, unaffected by "outdated and redundant" UN resolutions, it is also crucial for a secular India to include a Muslim-majority state. To Pakistan compromise on Kashmir would mean astray from the ideology.¹²⁰ Affirming that ideological basis remains important for Pakistan's leaders more than seven decades after partition because, in the absence of democracy, ideology is their major defense against ethnic or language-based sub nationalism. For India, conceding Kashmir amounts to reaffirming religious-based nationalism, which Indian leaders opposed even when they recognized Pakistan's independence.¹²¹

2.7.4 Issue of Junagarh

Junagarh was a small princely state and a maritime nation. It was nearly 300 miles away from the coast of Karachi. The total population was of about 0.7 million people. Its total area was 3,337 square kilometers. It was a Hindu majority area, but its ruler was a Muslim. Shortly after the partition, Junagarh announced to join Pakistan as the communication could be maintained through sea. Mahabat Khan, Ruler of Junagarh state declared to accede to the dominion of Pakistan.¹²² Manavadar, a smaller state, continuous to Junagarh, also joined the Pakistan Muslim rulers. On 5 September 1947, all of these countries confirmed their accession to Pakistan and these were simultaneously confirmed by Quaid -i- Azam. Pakistani

¹²⁰ Haqqani, Husain, "Pakistan's Endgame in Kashmir," *India Review*, 2003, pp. 35.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² "Junagarh State Joins Pakistan Dominion", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 19 September 1947, pp. 3.

government also informed the development to the Indian government in this regard. The later responded very quickly.

Consequently, two independent dominions were drawn: Pakistan and India. Some people think that adjacent to Junagarh was a Hindu India and mainly it was not contiguous to Pakistan. Muslims thoroughly disappointed as the Indian government insisted that the issue should be solved through a referendum. The referendum should be hold completely by Junagarh's authority excluding the joint command of Pakistan and the government of India. Finally, the Indian government hoped to use force to deal with complex issues. To realize this plan, extreme cordon and search introduced, causing panic and chaotic situation in Junagarh. In 1947, at the end of October, the Nawab of Junagarh was forced to move from Junagarh to Karachi, Pakistan.

On 1 November, 1947, Babariawad and the territories of Mangrol were occupied by an active Indian Army. Manavadar had taken over a few days before the Indian occupation of Babariawad and Mangrol. On 7 November 1947, there were 20,000 people with ammunition to attack in Junagarh. Only in two days, the entire state of Junagarh was occupied by the Indian Army.¹²³ At that time, Pakistan had no ability to defend that Gardner's home. Pakistan's army was not fully capable to handle the issue in those days. Junagarh with its 82 per cent of Hindu population and 18 per cent of Muslim population joined up with Pakistan.¹²⁴

¹²³ Events in India and Pakistan, File No. FO 371/69740, TNA, UK, 1948.

¹²⁴ Speech of Lord Mountbatten, Transfer of Power 17/1/13 Allegation against Lord Mountbatten regarding Sikh & Boundary Award, September 1947- July 1948 July, File No. IOR: L/PJ/10/119, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

The Muslim refugees of the Junagadh State on 12 August 1947 presented as five page memorandums to the Chairman of The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan's (UNCIP)¹²⁵. The memorandum has suffering misfortunes and affiliation and also the in human which Muslims barbarous and uncivilized treatment, which Muslim men, Women and even children received at the hands of the Indian Union troops before and after the occupation of the Junagadh state.¹²⁶ The memorandum has emphasized that according to the Indian Independence Act, 1947 the ruler of Junagadh was free to accede to the making that decision due consideration was given to the various factor, including the preservation and integrity of the state and its ruling dynasty, geographical contiguity of the state which has a 150 mile coastal link with Pakistan, her tradition and business connection and to the wishes of the people. The memorandum in the name of the humanity and the idea of the United Nations, appeals to the UNCIP to hand over the administration of the state to Pakistan.¹²⁷

2.7.5 Issue of Hyderabad

The state of Hyderabad was of the prime importance about its fate. The total area of Hyderabad was about 84,000 square miles with 84 per cent of Hindu population and

¹²⁵ Review of Events in Pakistan 1947-1948, File No. DO 142/22, TNA, UK, 1948. The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan's (UNCIP) task was to investigate and mediate the India and Pakistan dispute over the future of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It existed from June, 1948, until March, 1950. The United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan was Sir Owen Dixon. His task was to assume the responsibilities of UNCIP, to prepare for the Plebiscite Administrator for Jammu and Kashmir, and to assist in preparation for and supervision of demilitarization.

¹²⁶ "Junagarh State", *Dawn*, 18 August 1948, pp. 4.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

14 per cent of Muslim population.¹²⁸ Its total population was about 1.6 billion. The net revenue that it generated annually was Rs. 260 million. It was a predominant Hindu area, but it was being ruled by a Muslim, the Nizam. It was important to note that Hyderabad state enjoyed a lot of resources, size and prestige. By virtue of its size, resources, importance and prestige, the state demanded the status of an independent sovereign state. The Nizam refused to accept the 3rd June plan and declared that he would neither accede to India nor Pakistan. On 11 July 1947, he sent a delegation to the Viceroy. Lord Mountbatten did not give his consent to the idea of Nizam to give Dominion Status for Hyderabad. Contrary to the Nizam's proposal, he inclined towards India and pressed Hyderabad to accede to India. The Nizam strongly resented the Viceroy's attitude.¹²⁹

The delegation affirmed that if India pressurized the Nizam too hard, he might assume acceding to Pakistan. At this, the Lord Mountbatten said, "There was no doubt that the Nizam was legally entitled to do so, but the mechanical difficulty presented by the facts of geography was very real without implying any kind of threat, he further foresaw disastrous results to the State in next five or ten years if his advice were not taken." It was true that the state of Hyderabad was not contiguous geographically to Pakistan and was surrounded on all sides by the India. Till 15 August 1947, the fate of Hyderabad was uncertain. During the negotiations with the Nizam, Mountbatten strove to make Hyderabad a part of India. Initially, the Nizam was hesitant to agree to the instrument of accession, but later on agreed to sign a

¹²⁸ Speech of Lord Mountbatten, Transfer of Power 17/1/13 Allegation against Lord Mountbatten regarding Sikh & Boundary Award, September 1947- July 1948, File No. IOR: L/PJ/10/119, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

¹²⁹ India-Hyderabad Dispute, File No. CO 537/3395, TNA, UK, 1948.

treaty of accession with India only if India provided Hyderabad with the power of defense, foreign affairs, and communications. Lord Mountbatten, who had directed the transfer of power from Britain to the governments of India and Pakistan, failed to resolve the Hyderabad impasse.¹³⁰

The state of Hyderabad registered a complaint before the Security Council of the UN on 24 August 1947.¹³¹ But India opted for a military operation on Hyderabad before the Security Council could take any step. On 13 September 1947, the Indian Army attacked Hyderabad on a large scale. The successful "hundred-hour war" gave India full control of Hyderabad.¹³² The state was dismembered and divided into the different provinces of the Indian Union. No action has been taken so far against India by the Security Council.

Before the invasion of Hyderabad India continued to arrest Muslim and also banned the entry of "Dawn" into the Indian union, which increased resentment in Pakistan and added fuel to the bitterness of the press fire.¹³³ Despite increased hatred however, the immediate reaction to the India's act of aggression was surprisingly moderate, possibly because what had occurred had been expected and possibly because the shock of Mr. Jinnah's death left the people uncertain of the new leadership. There was however immediate and large public demonstrations of sympathy with

¹³⁰ Talbot, Phillips, "Kashmir and Hyderabad," *World Politics*, 1949, pp. 326.

¹³¹ India-Hyderabad Dispute, File No. CO 537/3395, TNA, UK, 1948 see also Onward Telegram from Commonwealth Relations Office, File No. FO 371/69734, TNA, UK, 1948.

¹³² Talbot, Phillips, "Kashmir and Hyderabad," *World Politics*, 1949, pp. 326.

¹³³ Commonwealth Relations Office fortnightly summary of the situation in India and Pakistan, No. 7 for the first half of September, 1948, File No. IOR: L/WS/1/1202, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

Hyderabad at which demand were made that Pakistan should declare war on India at once. In the absence of an early capitulation by Hyderabad it is likely that means pressure on government would have increased.¹³⁴

2.8 Role and Effect of Lord Mountbatten and Radcliffe in Boundary Commission Award

As a result of the transfer of power on 15 August 1947 some 562 Indian states became separate independent entities.¹³⁵ The prosperity of two new dominions was inextricable bound up with that of the other.¹³⁶ The arguments were conducted with courtesy and at times with humour's but the protagonists were simple advocates, bound to present extreme cases and with no powers to seek and agreed compromised by bargaining. It may have been thought that this would be the function of the judges but they had no mandate from anybody and it not perhaps surprising that they declined so invidious a role and on essentials divided two and two. In the upshot Radcliffe had thus to take all decisions on his sole responsibility. It would certainly see that this quasi-judicial procedure (perhaps adopted to avoid long-drawn bargaining) was not that best suited to the situation and those negotiations between plenipotentiaries at the highest possible level might have been preferable.¹³⁷ Here however as in so many aspects of the affair the presence of the Sikhs as a vitally

¹³⁴ Commonwealth Relations Office fortnightly summary of the situation in India and Pakistan, No. 7 for the first half of September, 1948, File No. IOR: L/WS/1/1202, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

¹³⁵ Indian states-Developments since the transfer of power in August 1947, File No CAB 21/2038, TNA, UK.

¹³⁶ Paper to be read before joint meeting of the East India Association and the overseas league at overseas House, Park Place, St. James's, S.W.1, on Tuesday, October 7 1947, File No. IOR: L/I/1/778, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

interested third party greatly complicated matters. Sir Cyril did not attend the sitting nor even visit Lahore. The final deliberation of the judge with each other and with the chairman took place in the cooler atmosphere of Simla.¹³⁸

The division of the Punjab and Bengal was neither an easy task for the Commission nor was it a matter of a few days. Any mishandling or injustice in demarcating the boundaries could prove to be disastrous not only for both the nations but also for the other minorities residing in the subcontinent. Malik Feroze Khan Noon speaking at a social function in Lahore, referred to the task before Punjab Boundary Commission and suggested to Radcliffe, Chairman of the Commission, not to come to the Punjab but to consult his challenges either at Delhi or some other place outside the province.¹³⁹ He also said that he felt that if Radcliffe comes to the Punjab and shook hand with a Sikh, the Muslim would think that he had become a *Amritdhari* Sikh¹⁴⁰ and he was seen taking a cup of tea with a Muslim the Sikh would take him as a pro-

¹³⁸ Paper to be read before joint meeting of the East India Association and the overseas league at overseas House, Park Place, St. James's, S.W.1, on Tuesday, October 7, 1947, File No. IOR: L/I/1/778, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

¹³⁹ "Sir Cyril Radcliffe asked to keep away from Punjab", *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 8 July 1947, pp. 3.

¹⁴⁰ Amritdhari comprises of two words "Amrit" which actually signifies "nectar" anyway ordinarily it alludes to a Sikh who has been started or purified through water as a Khalsa by taking "amrit" or "nectar water". "Dhari" signify "professional" or "blessed with". So an Amritdhari is one who has gotten baptismal promises of the Khalsa started by Guru Gobind Singh (on 30 March 1699) and the individual in question submits to these pledges and pursues the "Panj Akari Rahit" (principles of the wearing the Five ks), the unmistakable emblem presented by the Guru on that day containing five images each start with the Gurmukhi letter "ਕ" (articulated "kakka") or its Roman equal "k". These are Kesh (long unshorn hair and if there should be an occurrence of men, whole whiskers), kangha (a brush to keep the hair clean), Kirpan (a sword), Kara (a steel arm ornament worn about the wrist), and kaccha (a short underwear). <https://vimeo.com/249811244> retrieved on 23 February 2019.

Muslim. He expressed the hope that the boundary commission's award would leave everybody happy.¹⁴¹

From the very beginning, the Commission faced a lot of difficulties while calculating the gravity of matter. The Commission soon fell prey to the imminent controversies over the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. The demarcation in each province was surely going to affect densely populated areas of both the communities. Resultantly, it affected the millions of people as massive migrations occurred soon after the partition of Punjab and Bengal. The refugees faced many atrocities and injustices at the hands of other opposing communities. Moreover, the partition of both the provinces was full of injustice.

Later on, many Muslims majority areas that were contiguous to Pakistan were given to India with the mutual cooperation of the Boundary Commission. It was the total collapse of justice as the Muslims majority areas were given to India with partiality. All this led to the dilemma of huge migration the history ever witnessed. Muslims were ruthlessly killed through a planned scheme. The Muslims villages were set on fire completely. The Hindus and Sikhs, taking the advantage of political anarchy, together fished in troubled waters. On the other hand the only solution which could mitigate the plight of the Sikh was the "Boundary Commission" would so define the boundary as the maximum portion of the Sikh should be included within one conglomerate whole without doing damage to the balance of Muslims and non-

¹⁴¹ "Sir Cyril Radcliffe asked to keep away from Punjab", *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 8 July 1947, pp. 3.

Muslims areas. They must assure to the Sikh that they did understand their difficulties.¹⁴²

Partition was a critical responsibility to be performed by a single individual, no matter how competent he might be. Another handicap was that Radcliffe was not familiar with the Indian society and political life and processes of partition and had never visited the country before. His only briefing for the hard task of partitioning the Punjab and Bengal was a thirty minute session with a permanent Under Secretary of India Office on a map. He was given four to five weeks time to accomplish his assignment whereas he himself viewed that it was a job which would take years to decide. Last but not the least, Radcliffe himself lacked interest in the task assigned to him. His cold attitude could be understood from the fact that he had refused to come in June due to scorching heat in India.¹⁴³

No doubt in such conditions Radcliffe had to mainly rely on Mountbatten's advice. On his arrival in Delhi on 8 July 1947, Radcliffe stayed with Mountbatten for a couple of days where he was briefed about the situation. Radcliffe was given with the task of defining the boundary lines before the functioning of commissions.¹⁴⁴ This shows that he was already briefed that Muslim and non-Muslim Judges would hardly agree on anything and thus ball will ultimately fall in his court. Even otherwise Radcliffe did not want to meet the members of the Commission as he was not much

¹⁴² "Punjab Boundary Commission", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 16 July 1947, pp. 5.

¹⁴³ Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom: An Autobiographical Narrative*, Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1959, pp. 200.

¹⁴⁴ Dar, Farooq Ahmad, "Boundary Commission Award: The Muslim League Response," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 2012, pp. 19.

in favour of consultation. His philosophy was apt to be abridged in a quotation he once copied into his commonplace book, "Free speech is alright as long as it does not interfere with the policy of the government".¹⁴⁵ It is also fact that Radcliffe did not know anything about India, he was only appointed due to his experience¹⁴⁶ and Lord Mountbatten himself was very glad on the appointment of Radcliff as the chairman of both Boundary Commission i.e Punjab and Bengal.¹⁴⁷

It is also un-wise decision of the Lord Mountbatten to promote the transfer of power from June 1948 to 15 August 1947.¹⁴⁸ He deliberately refused to give time in the making of Pakistan and asked the establishment of the Muslim League to manage its affairs itself in a proper way and Boundary Commission directed to finish his work in two months.¹⁴⁹ The inevitable result was that provincial governments of both the Eastern Punjab and Western Punjab could not take proper time to organize themselves. East Punjab government's situation was comparatively worse because Hindus and Sikhs had refused to set up an alternative capital in the Eastern Punjab, the later feared of weakening their flimsy claims in Lahore. If the scheduled date of June 1948 had been implemented, both the governments of East and West Punjab would have been in a better position to maintain law and order in their own

¹⁴⁵ Patrick French, *Liberty or Death: India's Journey to Independence and Division*, London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1997, pp. 321.

¹⁴⁶ Departmental Paper; Annual File 1947, Boundary Commission; setting up Commission etc, File No. IOR: L/P J/7/12500, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

¹⁴⁷ Extract from the private and secret letter from Lord Mountbatten to Lord Listowel dated 27 June, 1947, Departmental Paper, File No. IOR: L/P J/7/12500, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

¹⁴⁸ Speech of Lord Mountbatten, Transfer of Power 17/1/13 Allegation against Lord Mountbatten regarding Sikh & Boundary Award, September 1947- July 1948, File No. IOR: L/PJ/10/119, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947 see also *Manchester Guardian*, 9 July 1948, pp. 5.

¹⁴⁹ "Boundary commission may finish work in two months", *The Pakistan Times*, 10 July 1947, pp. 1.

administrative units. If the division had been made in line with June, 1948, the today's geography of the subcontinent would have been telling an entirely different story. A British governor who had spent all his working life in India, Punjab wrote:

“This, again, was the result of Mountbatten's un-wisdom in accelerating the date of partition so suddenly. I am sure that if the Punjab had been given time (say eight or nine months) to sort out their services properly Mohammadan and Hindu the terrible massacres of Aug-Sep-Oct would never have happened in anything approaching the scale that they did assume”.¹⁵⁰

Lord Mountbatten described the partition in these words:

“It took three years to separate Burma from India. It took three years to separate Sindh from Bombay (now Mumbai). To make Orissa a new providence after separating it from Bombay, it also took two years. But it took only two and a half month to divide India into two parts”.¹⁵¹

Sir Francis Mudie, the Governor of Punjab, found the sketch-map of Radcliffe's award from the papers that Jenkins had left behind. The map was sketched up by the viceroy's Private Secretary George Abell on 8 August 1947, on the request from Jenkins, who wanted to make necessary administrative and security measurements before the partition of Punjab. On the very sketch-map, the *Tehsils* Ferozepore and

¹⁵⁰ Sayeed, K. B, *Pakistan the Formative Phase 1857-1948*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 175.

¹⁵¹ Lord Mountbatten mentioned that it took two years to separate Sind from Bombay but we separate 400,000,000 people within two and half months, Speech of Lord Mountbatten, Transfer of Power 17/1/13 Allegation against Lord Mountbatten regarding Sikh & Boundary Award, September 1947-July 1948, File No. IOR: L/PJ/10/119, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947 see also Allegation against Lord Mountbatten regarding Sikh & Boundary Award and Pasha, A. S, *72 din: 4 June 1947 say 14 August 1947* (in Urdu), Lahore: Sang-e- Meel publication, 2005, pp. 101.

Zira were assigned to Pakistan. But on 12 August 1947 when Radcliffe's award was declared, these *Tehsils* were entitled to India. It is clear that between these two dates changes were made in the actual map at the cost of Pakistan's territories. In addition, following are some other Muslim areas that were handed over to India as a part of an absolute injustice.¹⁵²

Table 2.5

Muslim Area that handed over to India

Tehsil	Muslims percentage in these Tehsils
Ferozepur Tehsil	55.25 %
Zeera Tehsil	65.26%
Ajnala Tehsil	59.46%
Jalandar Tehsil	51.50%
Nakudar Tehsil	59.41%
Fazalka Tehsil	75.12%
Makteer Tehsil	66.56%
Jagraon Tehsil	69.32%
Ludhyana Tehsil	68.59%
Nawansher Tehsil	50.99%
Phalwar Tehsil	67.24%
Tehsil Amratsar	51.9%

Source:- Pasha, A. S, *72 din: 4 June 1947 say 14 August 1947*, 2005

Commenting on Radcliffe's Award in a broadcast speech, the Quaid-i-Azam said:

“The division of India is now finally and irrevocably affected. No doubt we feel that the carving out of his great independent Muslim

¹⁵² Punjab Boundary Award by Sir Cyril Radcliffe appointed to demarcate the disputed frontier between India and Pakistan File No. DO 35/3054, TNA, UK, 1950 see also Pasha, A. S, *72 din: 4 June 1947 say 14 August 1947* (in Urdu), Lahore: Sang-e-Meel publication, 2005, pp. 62.

State has suffered injustices. We have been squeezed in as much as it was possible, and the latest blow that we have received was the Award of the Boundary Commissions. It is an unjust, incomprehensible and perverse; and it may not be a judicial but a political award, but we have agreed to abide by it and it is binding upon us. As honourable people, we must abide by it. It may be our misfortune but we must bear up this one more blow with fortitude, courage and hope”.¹⁵³

In this way, due to these injustices committed by Radcliffe, these Muslims majority areas were given to India. Desperately, the Muslims of these areas migrated towards Pakistan. It was a very difficult task for newly-born Pakistan to handle these refugees and also with the injustice of Radcliffe Boundary commission. Pakistan also faced the problem with three states i.e. Kashmir, Junagarh, and Hyderabad. By the 15 August 1947, Kashmir, Junagarh, and Hyderabad states did not join India or Pakistan. Later, these states through the use of military force occupied India. In his own report he admitted that he failed to solve the dispute of Kashmir as well as Hyderabad.¹⁵⁴

Mountbatten, in his program of transfer of power, had planned to let himself as a common Governor General. As a part of his sinister plan, he wanted to undo Pakistan at the very start. Quaid-i-Azam saw through the game, but he still agreed to

¹⁵³ Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches as Governor General of Pakistan 1947-1948, Protection of Minorities: A sacred undertaking, Broadcast speech from the Pakistan Radio Lahore on 30 October, 1947, 2004, pp. 43.

¹⁵⁴ Governor-General's personal report no. 12 date 21 June, 1948, India: Lord Mountbatten's report on his viceroyalty File No. CAB 21/5650, TNA, UK, 1947-1965.

Mountbatten's solution of having a common Governor General.¹⁵⁵ He gave his consent to a truncated Pakistan, advancing the date of the transfer and possible delays in the Indian Army division but refused to fall into a common Governor, which was a key factor in Mountbatten's nefarious plans to dismantle Pakistan resulting in the early demise of Pakistan. With refer to the British Prime Minister announcement during the second reading of the Indian independence Bill about, Lord Mountbatten functioning as the first Governor-General of Indian domain with the consent and approval of Congress party.¹⁵⁶

On the other hand, the relation of Nehru with Lady Edwina was also very considerable in this context. A famous historian, Mr. Hoey, a royal official biographer, wrote in his book, "Mountbatten: Private Stories" published in July 1944 that Lady Edwina Mountbatten had infidelity career and blatant infidelity but the Lord suffered a heap in his humiliation and accepted her lovers as friends as the Lord was very easygoing and very glad. The emotional participation of the Nehru was no secret. This has even been confirmed by the Hon. Pamella Mountbatten, Mountbatten's youngest daughter, in these words:

"My mother's involvement with Nehru made life difficult for my father, as she would ask him to do sometimes, some things for the Indians that were not according to his line of thinking". Nehru received the feedback of "Mountbatten's programs, later known as June 3 Plan. Nehru was incandescent. "The next morning, Nehru refused, he saw his country's Balkanization in the plan and with

¹⁵⁵ Statement by Ghulam Muhammad Finance Secretary of Pakistan, File No. IOR: L/PJ/10/119, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

¹⁵⁶ "Security of life and property", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 15 July 1947, pp. 1.

brilliant V.P. Menon redrafted the whole plan and resubmitted to London, to the India Office and the Prime Minister Attlee's confusion and disturbances."¹⁵⁷

In the following figure at the left side there is Mr. Lord Mountbatten, in the middle Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and then Lady Mountbatten. The figure shows the attention of Mr. Nehru which might shows their relation.



Figure 2.7. Mr. Lord Mountbatten, Jawaharlal Nehru and Lady Mountbatten, 1947.

Source:- Von Tunzelmann, Alex. *Indian Summer: The Secret History of the End of an Empire* Macmillan, 2007, pp. 1.

¹⁵⁷ Rabbani, A. *Jinnah Through my Eyes*, Lahore: Ferozesons (PVT) LTD, 2010, pp. 35.

Realizing the gravity of his “achievement”, Radcliffe left India before the awards were announced and never came back. Responding to a question, he articulated that he would not return to India even if the people of the land so desired. He was sure that he would be shot dead immediately at first sight by the people who had suffered due to his injustice. He also destroyed all his papers in connection with the boundary commission so that the truth might never be known publically. When asked by Z.H. Zaidi, the Editor-in-Chief of the Quaid-i-Azam Paper Project who was then staying at London, in 1967, said that he had destroyed his papers because he wanted to maintain the validity of the Awards.¹⁵⁸ Probably, he knew that exposure of the facts would hurt the legality of the Awards. In an interview with a newspaper a few months before his death, he did show his dissatisfaction about what happened in the Punjab in 1947.¹⁵⁹

Now the question arises that was it Radcliffe alone who was responsible for the unjust awards or was there somebody else behind him as well? Mountbatten tried to give the impression that he never discussed the issue with Radcliffe and thus never tried to influence him. However, the popular belief in India at the time of declaration of the awards was that Radcliffe was only following Mountbatten’s advice and thus the awards were a commanded performance.¹⁶⁰ Some of the British officers also reported that it was commonly believed that Radcliffe would do whatever Mountbatten dictated. Besides, the Muslim members of the Boundary Commission believed that it was merely due to Mountbatten’s instructions that the awards were

¹⁵⁸ Dar, Farooq Ahmad, “Boundary Commission Award: The Muslim League Response,” *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 2012, pp. 24.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ “Boundary Commission”, *The Eastern Times*, 28 August 1947, pp. 3.

revised and altered in favour of India. The non-Muslim members also acknowledged that the commission was just a farce and that decisions were actually taken by Mountbatten. One of the British Foreign Office Files also claims that Mountbatten altered the “Boundary Awards” at Pakistan’s expense.¹⁶¹

No document is available to show that Mountbatten issued any written instruction to the Boundary Commission. May be he was too conscious and keen to show his impartial role in history and therefore he was careful not to leave any document to prove otherwise. Yet, there are quite a few evidences which revealed the influence of Mountbatten in drafting the Boundary Awards. As already discussed, after reaching Delhi, Radcliffe was given first briefing by Mountbatten and his briefing had a great impact on Radcliffe’s future course of action. Mountbatten’s Deputy Private Secretary, Ian Scott, disclosed that the Viceroy himself attended a meeting of the Boundary Commission in Lahore on 22 July 1947. According to Radcliffe, he showed the first draft of the proposed awards to Mountbatten and then endorsed the amendments recommended by him in the revised draft.¹⁶²

In a letter to Ismay, Mountbatten himself admitted asking Radcliffe to compensate the Sikhs while demarcating the Punjab border. Mudie¹⁶³ also found a map in the

¹⁶¹ Farooq Ahmad, *Boundary Commission...*, pp. 24.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ Sir Robert Francis Mudie (1890-1976) served as the Indian Civil Service during British Raj and was the Governor of West Punjab (Pakistan) after the partition of India in August 1947. Chattha, Ilyas, “Faction-Building in Pakistan: Sir Francis Mudie and Punjab politics, 1947-1949,” *Contemporary South Asia*, 2014, pp. 225-239 see also [http://www.broughtyferrycommunitycouncil.org/history/Sir%20Robert%20Francis%20Mudie%20KC SI.pdf](http://www.broughtyferrycommunitycouncil.org/history/Sir%20Robert%20Francis%20Mudie%20KC%20SI.pdf) retrieved on 23 February 2019.

safe of Jenkins,¹⁶⁴ which was supplied to Jenkins, much before the announcement of the awards, by Abell, the then Secretary to Mountbatten. The map found in Jenkins' safe was almost the same as that of the final awards. This meant that even if the awards were not authored by Mountbatten, he at least knew about the decisions much before they were announced.¹⁶⁵

Another factor which indicates that Mountbatten was involved in finalizing the awards was the intentional delay in their announcement. It is on record that the members of the Boundary Commission, like Jinnah and Nehru, wanted to announce the awards before the independence of Pakistan and India. Radcliffe himself intended to finish his assignment latest by 10 August because he realized that there was a big risk of disorder if the awards were delayed till the very last minute. Mountbatten had also supported the idea when he requested Radcliffe to get the awards ready at latest by August 10. Nevertheless, Mountbatten delayed the announcement that lingered on after the independence.

Mountbatten claimed that the Awards were not ready till 13 August and since he was busy in Independence day ceremonies first at Karachi and then at Delhi on August 14 and 15 respectively, he had no time to discuss them with Nehru and Liaquat before 16 August. He also claimed that he had himself not seen the awards till 16 August. However, Pakistani authorities claimed that Jinnah had documentary proof that the report of the Boundary Commission was with Mountbatten by August 7 and he could

¹⁶⁴ Sir Evan Meredith Jenkins (1896-1985) was a British provincial head and the last Governor of Punjab in the British Empire. https://www.indianetzone.com/62/sir_evan_meredith_jenkins.htm retrieved on 23 February 2019.

¹⁶⁵ Farooq Ahmad, *Boundary Commission Award...*, pp. 24.

have easily announced the decision before the independence. Even if one did not accept Pakistani claim, in the minutes of the Viceroy's Staff meeting of 9 August, it is mentioned that by the evening Radcliffe would be ready to submit his report. Mountbatten intentionally delayed the process because he was scared that an early announcement of the Awards would have made him responsible for the disturbances.¹⁶⁶ According to the Associated Press of India, Radcliffe submitted his findings to the Viceroy before 11 August 1947.

Hormasji Maneckji Seervai¹⁶⁷ believes that Mountbatten decided to withhold the awards because he thought that the award of Chittagong Hill Tracts to Pakistan might provoke Indians and that would spoil the Independence Day celebrations.¹⁶⁸ According to a careful estimate, however, Mountbatten in fact was apprehensive of the Muslim League reaction to the "unjust" awards. He knew that the Muslim League and Jinnah would be left with no other option but to accept the awards if they were to be announced after the independence of Pakistan and India. He further wanted to use the additional time to make some more changes in the awards. The two Muslim members of the Punjab boundary commission claimed that Radcliffe had assured them that Ferozepore and Zira *Tehsils* would be included in the West

¹⁶⁶ Minutes of Viceroy's Staff Meeting, August 9, 1947, in Mansergh and Moon, (ed.) *Transfer of Power*, Vol. XII, 610-612 see also Hugh Tinker, "Pressure, Persuasion, Decision: Factors in the Partition of the Punjab, August 1947", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 1977, pp. 699-700.

¹⁶⁷ H. M. Seervai (1906-1996) was an Indian famous legal adviser, legal counselor and creator. <http://www.ijtr.nic.in/articles/art1.pdf> retrieved on 23 February 2019 see also <https://biography.lawi.asia/h-m-seervai/> retrieved on 7 March 2019 and Kirby, Michael, "HM Seervai—Indian Advocate and Great Lawyer of the Commonwealth of Nations," *Commonwealth Law Bulletin*, 2007, pp. 639-655.

¹⁶⁸ H.M. Seervai, *Partition of India: Legend and Reality*, Bombay: Emmenem Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1990, pp. 162.

Punjab.¹⁶⁹ A.N. Khosla, Chairman, Central Waterways, Irrigations and Navigation, had also recorded that Radcliffe's mind was working in the direction of giving Ferozepore and Zira to Pakistan.¹⁷⁰ The two *Tehsils* sent by Abell to were also shown on Pakistani side of the border in the map and the note of Christopher Beaumont Jenkins on 8 August 1947. The Map also included some parts¹⁷¹ of Gurdaspur in Pakistan.

Chaudhri Muhammad Ali had seen in Ismay's office a map, which showed the *Tehsils* of Ferozepore and Zira on Pakistan's side.¹⁷² The change of boundaries by Mountbatten at the last moment was designed basically to satisfy the Congress and its leaders. Nehru wrote a letter to him on 9 August 1947 in which he indicated that Radcliffe was working in the direction of awarding Ferozepore and Zira *Tehsils* to Pakistan and requested him to reverse the decision. Regarding Gurdaspur, Mehr Chand Mahajan revealed in his autobiography that according to the provisional boundaries the entire district of Gurdaspur was assigned to Pakistan. But since Mountbatten was determined to give India a gateway to Kashmir, he decided to award Gurdaspur to the East Punjab. He himself told the Nawab of Bhopal and the

¹⁶⁹ Justice Mohammad Munir stated that when he was arguing for Muslim claims about Ferozpur head-works, Sir Cyril Radcliffe told him that he need not to say anything about them as it was already decided that they would become part of Pakistan. See also Hasan, K. Sarwar, *Pakistan in a Changing World: Essays in Honour of K. Sarwar Hasan*, Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, 1978, pp. 94. Justice Din Mohammad reported to the Government of Pakistan that Sir Cyril Radcliffe had stopped him from arguing 'so obvious a case' as the *tehsils* of Zira and Ferozpur and Ghulam Muhammad, *Emergence of Pakistan*, pp. 219.

¹⁷⁰ It may be remembered that under the National Award, Ferozpur district was included in Eastern Punjab while the Gurdaspur District was in West Punjab, Note by A. N. Khosla, n.d, in Mansergh and Moon (ed.) *Transfer of Power*, Vol. XII, 619-620.

¹⁷¹ Note by Abell to Abbott, August 8, 1947, File No. IOR: R/3/1/157, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947 see also Mountbatten to Jenkins, 6 August 1947, in Mansergh and Moon (ed.) *Transfer of Power*, Vol. XII, pp. 557.

¹⁷² Ghulam Muhammad, *Emergence of Pakistan*..., pp. 118-119.

Maharaja of Indore that Kashmir could join any of the two Dominions, if part of Gurdaspur were given to India by the Boundary Commission.¹⁷³

Likewise, the award of Sylhet was also changed at the last moment. When Justice S.A. Rahman pleaded the case for the Muslim majority areas of Karim Ganj and Badarpur for Pakistan, he was assured by Radcliffe that the areas would be connected with Pakistan. However, few days later, when the awards were announced the areas were included in India. Justice Rahman was convinced that it was due to some “external influence” that made Radcliffe change his mind. The award of Calcutta to India was also due to tremendous pressure of the Congress on Mountbatten and also owing to the friendship between the two. The Congress leaders were quite confident that the award of Calcutta to India would make Pakistan unviable. Thus they considered that any solution which gives Calcutta to Pakistan would be unstable and impractical. Mountbatten always pleaded the Congress arguments in his discussions with Jinnah on the issue of Calcutta.¹⁷⁴ Patel, in a public speech in Calcutta on 15 January 1950 acknowledged that the Congress had only accepted the partition on the condition that India would not lose Calcutta, because to him losing Calcutta was like losing India.¹⁷⁵

When everything was ready to the satisfaction of Mountbatten, he asked Pakistan's Prime Minister to visit Delhi on 16 August 1947 along with one of his cabinet

¹⁷³ Radcliffe Award: Gurdaspur and Ferozepore, File No. DO 35/9000, TNA, UK, 1960 see also Interview between Mountbatten and the Nawab of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Indore, 4 August, 1947, in Mansergh and Moon (ed.) *Transfer of Power*, Vol. XII, pp. 505-509.

¹⁷⁴ Interview between Mountbatten and Jinnah, April 10, in Zaidi (ed.) *Jinnah Papers*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 648-651

¹⁷⁵ Report by the Chairman of the Bengal Boundary Commission, 12 August 1947, Zaidi (ed.) *Jinnah Papers*, Vol. V, pp. 43-45.

colleagues to discuss the “Boundary Awards”. The Muslim League by then had got some clue that Radcliffe was going to give Gurdaspur to India. Liaquat Ali Khan had also discussed the issue with Lord Ismay and told him that if the rumour was correct then it would be considered as a “grave injustice” and “breach of faith on the part of the British”. Lord Ismay, however, denied the charges. On the instructions of Jinnah, Chaudhri Muhammad Ali also tried, in vain as it turned out, to convince Ismay on 10 August 1947, that the decision to give Gurdaspur to India would have serious repercussions.¹⁷⁶ Liaquat Ali Khan accompanied by Fazlur Rahman, Justice Din Mohammad and Chaudhri Muhammad Ali arrived at Delhi to discuss the matter in the meeting of Joint Defence Council of India. Before leaving for Delhi, Liaquat Ali Khan in a cabinet meeting gave assurance that he would not accept any modification of the awards, which was not definitely to the advantage of Pakistan. However, in the meeting Lord Mountbatten made it clear to Nehru and Liaquat that they had no other option but to accept the awards. He also told them that the awards would be publicly announced the next day.

When the awards were announced the general belief in Pakistan was that the main purpose of the awards was to please India by giving vast area with Muslim majority to India. The head of the Boundary Commission was criticized in Pakistan for going beyond his terms of reference. The Muslim League’s mouthpiece, the daily *Dawn* considered the awards “Territorial Murder”. It claimed that Pakistan was cheated and deprived of large portions of “the Punjab, Bengal and Sylhet which inalienably belonged to it”.¹⁷⁷ Even a segment of the British intelligentsia accepted that the

¹⁷⁶ Ghulam Muhammad, *Emergence of Pakistan...*, pp. 218-219.

¹⁷⁷ “Territorial Murder”, *Dawn*, 21 August 1947, pp. 1.

awards had adverse effect on the Muslims more than any other community. The newspaper claimed that “a trusted judge” was turned into a “partisan” and termed the decision as “Rape of the Punjab”.¹⁷⁸ According to daily Pakistan Times, the awards were given by “one-man Boundary Commission” and considered it as “nothing more than a hoax perpetrated on the Muslims of India”.¹⁷⁹ Justice Munir’s first reaction to the awards was that India belonged to the British and their Viceroy gave it to whomsoever they wanted. Diwan Bahadur S.P. Singha, leader of the Christian community in Pakistan, considered it as “One sided award” which was “most Even a segment of the British intelligentsia accepted that the awards had adverse effect on the Muslims more than any other unfair to Pakistan”.¹⁸⁰ Even a segment of the British intelligentsia accepted that the awards had adverse effect on the Muslims more than any other community.¹⁸¹

The Muslim League leadership reaction to the awards was very severe. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar the then Communication Minister dubbed the awards, which to him were “extremely unfair and unjust to Pakistan”, as a “parting kick by the British”.¹⁸² Ghazanfar Ali Khan called the awards as “disgusting and unfair” and thought that the decision might “not persuade Pakistan to remain in the Commonwealth”.¹⁸³ I.I. Chundrigar also supported Ghazanfar’s idea that the decision might take Pakistan out of the British Commonwealth. Sardar Shaukat Hayat termed the awards as

¹⁷⁸ “The Punjab”, *Dawn*, 27 August 1947, pp. 2.

¹⁷⁹ “The Award”, *The Pakistan Times*, 19 August 1947, pp. 3.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² “Punjab Boundary Award ‘Unjust’”, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 20 August 1947, pp. 1.

¹⁸³ “Reaction to Boundary Commission Award”, *The Pakistan Times*, 19 August 1947, pp. 1.

“deliberate perversity of justice” and “last act of treachery of the British”. He believed that the decision “has clearly shown whose real friends the British are”.¹⁸⁴ To Begum Shah Nawaz “British have gone back on their words”. According to M.A.H. Ispahani the award was “abominable” as it violated “fundamental and accepted principles of contiguous majority areas”.¹⁸⁵ Mr. Victor Fisherman, a British speaker said that the massacre in India was viewed in Britain with as much horror as in India. The British he said, should have created a peaceful situation before leaving India.¹⁸⁶

A total of some 13,600,000 people in the disputed area at least 7,84,000 or over 57 percent were Muslims and by parity of reasoning the Muslim might well claim the entire Punjab as a “contiguous Muslim majority area”.¹⁸⁷ To demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims in doing so, it will also take into account other factors.¹⁸⁸ It is felt difficult to feel that it is in fact drawn on the principle of contiguous majority areas which Sir Cyril’s report accepts as the fundamental basis.¹⁸⁹ As the final limits were to be decided by Radcliffe, although this arrangement has the obvious advantage of uniformity, it is no reflection on Sir Cyril to suggest that the imposition of this tremendous double burden on one man

¹⁸⁴ Reaction to Boundary Commission Award”, *The Pakistan Times*, 19 August 1947, pp. 1.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ “Mr. Victor Fisherman, a British speaker”, *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 16 September 1947, pp. 3.

¹⁸⁷ Tyranny of Radcliff and allegation of Pakistan, File No. DO 35/3054, TNA, UK, 1950.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

may have been in itself unwise.¹⁹⁰ A report was also published on the Radcliff award with the title “Unhappy Delusion” in the *Manchester Guardian* declared the further effect on Pak-Britain relation.¹⁹¹ No doubt the Radcliff award was the main reason behind the tragic exile as refugees of hundreds of thousands of Muslims from “Contiguous Muslim Majourity areas” and massacre of thousnds of people in India and Pakistan.¹⁹² The following figure shows the members of the Punjab Boundary Commission August, 1947.



Figure 2.8. Member of the Punjab Boundary Commission August, 1947.

Source:- “Member of the Punjab Boundary Commission August”, *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 20 August 1947, pp. 12.

¹⁹⁰ Tyranny of Radcliff and allegation of Pakistan, File No. DO 35/3054, TNA, UK, 1950 see also Ibid, File No. IOR L/I/1/778, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

¹⁹¹ “Unhappy Delusion”, *Manchester Guardian*, 27 September, 1950, pp. 4.

¹⁹² Pakistan criticism of the Radcliffe Award in the partition of the Punjab between Muslim and non-Muslim communities, File No. FO 371/92869, TNA, UK, 1951.

2.9 Conclusion

A total of some 13,600,000 people in the disputed area at least 7,84,000 or over 57 percent were Muslims and by parity of reasoning the Muslim might well claim the entire Punjab as a “contiguous Muslim majority area”. The partition tragedy explored the tyranny of refugee movement, how the enactment of this tragedy took place is minutely stated in this chapter. The province of Punjab was cradle of violence “three-quarters of a million killed”. The migration of Muslims towards Pakistan from those Muslims majority areas created burdens of economic as well as social depravedness. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah stated on partition plan that it is clear that the plan does not meet in all respect our legal point of view and we cannot say that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the plan. An expert committee was formulated to safeguard the rights of two future governments that later proved fail to provide justice.

The 3rd June partition plan ensured that at the time of division of the Punjab and Bengal, a Boundary Commission will be established which will settle the terms and conditions necessary for the partition in consultation with the members of both the parties. In Bengal, there existed a great conflict between the representatives of Hindus and Muslims on the issue of the future of Calcutta as it was the capital of the province. He not only assigned Calcutta to India but also assigned the whole district of Murshidabad to India which was a Muslim Majority district. While in Punjab the Muslim majority Tehsils like Ajnala, Nakodar and Jullundur, Zira and Ferozepore of the Amritsar district, the Jullundur district and Ferozepore district were entitled to India. The issue of Hyderabad, Junagarh and Kashmir also created a permanent bone of connection between India and Pakistan.

Partition was a critical responsibility to be performed by a single individual. Radcliffe was not familiar with the Indian society and political life and processes of partition and had never visited the country before. His only briefing for the hard task of partitioning the Punjab and Bengal was a thirty minute session with a permanent Under Secretary of India Office on a map. He was given four to five weeks time to accomplish his assignment whereas he himself viewed that it was a job which would take years to decide. It is also un-wise decision of the Lord Mountbatten to promote the transfer of power from June 1948 to 15 August 1947. He deliberately refused to give time in the making of Pakistan and asked the establishment of the Muslim League to manage its affairs itself in a proper way and Boundary Commission directed to finish his work in two months. When the awards were announced the general belief in Pakistan was that the main purpose of the awards was to please India by giving vast area with Muslim majority to India at the instruction of Lord Mountbatten. The head of the Boundary Commission was criticized in Pakistan for going beyond his terms of reference.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORY OF SARGODHA DIVISION

3.1 Introduction

As the current study is on refugees in Sargodha division, it is important to have a bird's eye view on the history of Sargodha in order to understand the topic. Several books have been published with reference to the history of Sargodha but the most important aspect the refugees' migration, their settlement and their role in the development of Sargodha have yet not been explored. The history of Sargodha drives its roots and recognition from the arrival of Muslim refugees and before investigating the areas of refugee settlement, their genesis, their problems and their contribution it is essential to highlight the history of Sargodha division.

The fertile land of Sargodha was very famous at the time of its establishment. Even today, it is one of the key cities of Pakistan with respect to agricultural and non-agricultural development. The citrus of Sargodha is very famous not only in Pakistan but also in the world. In addition to local people of Sargodha, people belonging to different ethnicities also inhabit in it. The post-1947 development in Sargodha is particularly significant as Sargodha played a dominating role not only at the regional level but also at the international one. However, a little research is available about the contributions of Sargodha. This study not only focused on migration and resettlement, but also analyzed its effects on socio-political and economic milieu.

3.2 History of Sargodha Division

Before highlighting the assigned topic, it is important to have a bird's eye view on the history of Sargodha in order to understand the topic. The foundation of Sargodha

was laid down on 22 February 1903 by “Sir Mailcom Hailey”¹ who later became the Governor of Punjab. It is said that the word “Sargodha” is a combination of two words, “Sar” and “Godha”. “Sar” means “pond” and “Godha” means “Sadhu” who lived near this pond. In this context, this particular place was named as Sargodha. The place where today’s old DHQ (District Health Quarter) is situated was a pond once.²

The above view of history about the name of Sargodha is quite authentic, however, many historians also relate Sargodha’s name with other attributes. It is said that the name “sadhu” was actually “lalu” and his tribe’s name was “Godha” so, its name was Lalugodha. But with the passage of time, its name converted into Sargodha.³ In the era of Mughal emperor Shah Jhan, Khokhar made the Karana as his emperor. At that time, its name was “Barah Chak Bar” which was his original name which then converted to the Jalalabad followed by Youngabad and then Sargodha.⁴ In addition, it is said that the name ‘Sargodha’ was derived from the name of a village “*Godhe wala*” about 8 Km from the Sargodha city. The word ‘Godha’ has been derived from Sanskrit word ‘Yodha’ which means cruel, brutal and malicious. In Hindi, Yodha is pronounced as “Youdh”. This word was used by the Sargodhians in 1965 and 1971

¹ William Malcolm Hailey (1872 -1969) also known as Sir Malcolm Hailey was a British administrator in British India. He became the Governor of the Punjab from 1924 to 1928. Hailey of Shahpur, William Malcolm Hailey, 1872-1969, Biographical Notes, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

² Rasul, S. A, *The History of Sargodha*, Sargodha: University of Sargodha, 2006, pp. 9.

³ Noon, M. A, *Narangi Siyasat Doran* (in urdu). Lahore: Bhalwal Publication, 2007. pp. 15.

⁴ Awan, M. I, *Sargodha mai Muslim Siyasat 1907-1947* (in urdu) . Faisalabad: Miasl publisher, 2004, pp. 21.

wars with India. It is also said that Sargodha is a derivative word of Sanskrit word “Svargadhama” which means “heavenly abode”.⁵

It also seems quite inappropriate to refer Sargodha’s derivation from ‘Sar’ and ‘Godha’ because many other names depict ‘Sar’ like Amrat Sar, Ram Sar, Babu Sar, Sakai Sar and so on, thus, it would have been followed by the same pattern in Hindi or Sanskrit, it must have been Godha Sar instead for Sargodha.⁶ It can be inferred from the references of its name that English in order to make it their residential area started coming here in 1888 and establishment of colonies ended on 20 December 1893 which was started on 10 April 1888. One must not think that this place was attributed to an English officer so far as its name is concerned as “Youngabad” as it was an English name, so, it was not much appreciated and liked by local native (not English) and this name was anonymously attributed to the self made reference “Sar and Godha” which respectively means a pound and a name of an old saint.⁷

Actual foundation of Sargodha in 1903 was attributed to Sir William Malcolm Hailey usually known as Sir Malcolm Hailey from the very ancient era; it has been hunted by different groups. While discussing Sargodha, Bhera can’t be overlooked because not only in Punjab but also in northern Hindustan it was known as *Babul Islam* because all the Muslims at that time continued their journey crossing this part of land.⁸ No major change happened during the war of independence of 1857 in

⁵ <http://historypak.com/sargodha> retrieved on 24 December 2017.

⁶ Hayat, S. M. *Sar Zameen e Sargodha* (in urdu). Lahore: Molvi Shoukat Printer, 2003, pp. 74.

⁷ Hayat, *Sar Zameen e Sargodha*.... 74.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 156.

Sargodha district. At that time, Shahpur was the headquarter of the custom line in connection with the salt range. During British rule, there was a little political activity in this district. Due to barren soil, it was not cultivable; therefore, this district remained backward in early British rule. The only solution was to irrigate it but mostly people used to live near the banks of river Jhelum and Chenab. Furthermore, the most of the land was owned by feudal lords. The twentieth century brought a new era of hopes for the inhabitants of this area as well as for new comers. Two major developments occurred in twentieth century: one was the establishment of canal irrigation and the second was the construction of railway system. Both counted much in the development of the area. After the arrival the railway system, it provided a striking example of population growth.⁹

Till the end of 20th century, this place was covered with shrubs and bushes where poor people lived who survived only on keeping some cattle, buffalos, sheep and some other animals and cultivated some crops only to fulfill their basic needs. It has been the practice of human beings to reside near the water. Same was the case with district Sargodha which was once a forest known as “Bar”. Major cities of Sargodha like Bhera, Miani, Shahpur and Shaiwal etc. were situated on the river banks due to which they were inhabited first but after the advent of lower Jhelum canal in Tehsil Sargodha, the area of bar was converted into newly built 324 *chaks*.¹⁰ The English colonizers wanted to cultivate that area and consequently send all the crops and cultivation to the centre (west). Western colonizers also benefited the West by

⁹ Thandi, I. T. *People on the Move: Punabi Colonia, and Post-Colonial Migration*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 165.

¹⁰ Hayat, Sar Zameen e Sargodha..., pp. 149.

introducing horse breeding *ghori pall*¹¹ scheme due to which they utilized manpower and resources to get their animals groomed without any budget.¹²

The first “Tiwana” who came to Sargodha occupied the land he covered by his journey on horse from the very morning till evening. After the regularization of Lower Jhelum River on 22 February 1903, this area was totally changed as it could be irrigated easily by the canal water and this reward for the settlement of nearby areas goes to Sir Malcolm Hailey. Sir Malcolm Hailey was appointed as settlement officer who suggested elimination of forests and he persisted by practically sawing two trees a day which resulted in the elimination of forest and transformed his area into a cultivated area with the help of irrigation system.¹³ For this purpose, experienced people (farmers) from nearby areas which included Gujrat, Gujranwala and Sialkot settled here.¹⁴ The people from these areas called settlers or *Abadkar*.¹⁵

Sir Malcolm Hailey used the strategy of lining the settlers and observing their palms in order to ensure their strength and participation in hard work to allot them lands if they deserved, otherwise, they were rejected.¹⁶ Usually, two *Marbbah*¹⁷ were allotted

¹¹ Interview with Ghazanfar Ali, Officer Colony, Sargodha, 22 March 2018 see also interview with Adul Razzaq, New Satellite Town, Sargodha, 27 November 2017.

¹² Interview with Abubakkar Sheikh, New Satellite Town, Sargodha, 20 August 2017 see also interview with Zahid Proya, Chak 57 N.B Sargodha, 8 June, 2017.

¹³ Talbot, Ian, “British Rule in the Punjab, 1849–1947: Characteristics and Consequences,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 1991, pp. 211.

¹⁴ Gazetteer of the Shahpur District 1897, File No. OIH 915.45, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1897, pp. 126.

¹⁵ Interview with Mudassar Iqbal, Shah Muhammad Colony, Sargodha, 13 May 2017 see also interview with Taj Muhammad, Chahk No. 88 N.B, Sargodha, 15 February 2017 and Noor Muhammad Lali, near Laliyan, Sargodha, 18 May 2017.

¹⁶ Hayat, Sar Zameen e Sargodha, pp. 151 see also interview with Hakeem Amjad, Fazal Town, Sargodha, 13 August 2017.

to a head of family against one horse to breed but some of them were given five to twenty *Marrabhs* as the elite class landlords were thought to practice and farm as much land as they desired, and it was thought that following them the minor working families would get more land. Today, it seems that allotment on nominal cost (appendix Q) was very easy but the drinking water was taken from ponds and the killing or preventing of wild animals was a big deal. It is said that prize or reward was declared for animal killers.

To populate Sargodha, government has worked with proper strategies. Due to proper planning, the architecture of Sargodha has quite resemblance with that of Gujarat in medieval times¹⁸ Sargodha quarter shaped towards its one side canal and on the other newly built railway line, on its third side were farms and fields and other occupied places for sale pitch *Thok Mandi*. Sargodha, at the time of its foundation, contributed wheat, cotton, Juwar, and banola. The farmers cultivated these crops for their domestic purpose and in usual manners, they were used to collect these outcomes and bid them at Mandi. But in this modern era Sargodhian orange (*kinno*) is not only well-known in Pakistan but also it is exported to different countries of the world.¹⁹

Sargodha's foundations were based on very intellectual planning. It was quite vast and its streets and blocks were quite broad.²⁰ Blocks in Sargodha are inevitable

¹⁷ Interview with Karamat Ali, Chak 88 N.B, Sargodha, 15 February 2017 see also Noor Muhammad, Chak 88 N.B, Sargodha 15 February 2017.

¹⁸ Malik, P. T, *Punjab k 100 Saal* (in urdu), Lahore: Fiction House, 2006, pp. 145.

¹⁹ Interview with Usman Tajamal, Chak No. 10 Bhalwal, Sargodha, 3 September 2016 see also interview with Zain ul Abdin, Chak No. 10 Bhalwal, Sargodha, 3 September 2016, interview with Waqas Ahmad Goraya, Hayat Colony, Bhalwal, Sargodha, 3 September 2016 and interview with Rehmat Ullah Hayat Colony, Bhalwal, Sargodha, 3 September 2016.

²⁰ Malik, *Punjab k 100 Saal*..., pp. 168.

expression of this fact. In each block, there is two way entrance and in mid was constructed a circled playground and this block touched roads from all sides around. In every block, religious temples were constructed according to the living community i.e. for example for Hindus, there was a Hindu temple, for Sikh community, there was a Gurdwara and for the Muslims, there was a mosque.²¹ Needs of domestic use of water were sufficient by the water supplied through pipes and each block was named chronological order like block No.1, block No.2 and so on. Some needs were specified for certain religious groups such as Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims but some were general in their settings which allowed the men to perform their own religious obligations.²²

Sargodha district has seen many territorial changes. It is perhaps rightly said that there is no other district in Punjab which has gone under so many changes. At the time of the British annexation, the whole of the Chaj Doab from the boundary of Jammu to the junction of the river Jhelum and Chanab was placed under the charge of Edward Clive Bayley²³ and administered by him as one district. But the charge was found too extensive. Accordingly in June 1849, it was divided into two districts, Gujrat and Shahpur. Shahpur initially comprised the 4th leadership of Miani, Bhera, Sahiwal and Qadirpur which were added three lowest leadership of Qaidabad, Mid Ahmadnagar and Kalowal. Later on, some defects were discovered in the first

²¹ Interview with Mansoor Ahmad, Block No. 8 Sargodha, 27 August 2016 see also Interview with Sheikh Hussain, Block No. 8 Sargodha, 27 August 2016, Interview with Sheikh Amjad, Block No. 8 Sargodha, 27 August 2016 and Interview with Malik Farooq, Block No. 8 Sargodha, 27 August 2016.

²² Interview with Hadayat Ali, Block No. 4 Sargodha, 27 August 2016 see also Interview with Mian Ahmad, Block No. 4 Sargodha, 27 August 2016.

²³ Edward Clive Bayley (1821-1884) was an Indian civil service in 1842 and appointed in different places at India, he was also the Deputy Commissioner of the Kangra district. <https://www.revolvy.com/page/Edward-Clive-Bayley> retrieved on 23 February 2019 see also Bayley, Edward, and Nagendra Singh. *The Local Muhammadan Dynasties. Gujarat*. S. Chand, 1970.

apportionments of territory into circles of administration with respect to Shahpur and it led to further changes. The important change took place in 1851, when the whole Tehsil of Qadirpur was transferred to Jhang on the grounds that the Talkus of which it was composed had always been subordinate to that place and that was more convenient situated with respect to the headquarters of the district and that the inhabitants were chiefly Sials, nearly concerned with others of the same tribe in Jhang. For some of the similar reasons, the Taluka of Khushab was made over to Shahpur from Lillah from commencement of the financial year 1853-54 and the following years saw the transfer book to this district.²⁴

The new district consisted of three Tehsils of Bhera, Sahiwal and Kalowal. In early 1857, a loading man of Mitha Tiwana came and prayed to the Chief Commissioner, on his visit across the Sindh Sagar Doab that Taluka might be transferred to Shahpur due to distance from headquarters of their own district. The application was entertained and the transfer took place from the commencement of the fiscal year. A more important territorial jurisdiction was made during the year when 65 villagers of Soon, Khabikei, Noorpur Sehti, Mail, Pakkar, Kattha and Ahmadabad were transferred from Jhelum to Sargodha. These were formed into a new fiscal division known as Jabba Tehsil due to a village of same name upon which headquarter was established. In 1861, Kalowal Tehsil was absorbed and its villages were distributed between Bhera and Chiniot Tehsils. In 1862 some important changes were made as Tuluka of Noorpur in the Thal separated from Bannu and the area from Sakesar to

²⁴ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 115.

Nikki was attached to Minawali Theshil. The remainder of Jabba thesil along salt range was transferred to Jhelum.²⁵

The inter-changes in the territory of Shahpur district necessitated complete remodeling of the entire fiscal divisions, which was affected by forming the whole of the country still attached to the district trans-Jhelum into one Tehsil. The headquarter was moved to Khushab and also transferred the Bhera to Sahiwal Tehsil which was an equivalent for the villages which had been added railway junction of Malkwal and that villages and the village Nasirpur was also transferred to Gujrat district in 1913. After the floods in Shahpur and due to some other problems, the district headquarters were transferred from Shahpur to Sargodha in 1913 but it continued to be called Shahpur district till 1960²⁶ when Sargodha became the district. In 1917, the Tehsil headquarters from Bhera were also shifted to Bhalwal as Bhalwal was on the district having railway line to Karachi. In 1906, the area of Sakaisar was given under the control of Attock after this few changes have taken place in the boundaries. The Division of Sargodha was come into being in 1960 and Sargodha, Faisalabad, Jhang and Mianwali districts were under the control of this division.²⁷

Before 1 July 1982, Khushab was a Tehsil of Sargodha. The vast boundary which was spreading towards the North to Talagang Tehsil of Attock, in East to Gujrat, in west to Mianwali district and in South to Jhang and covering an area of 7684 square

²⁵ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 117 see also Census of Pakistan, 1951, Urban and Rural Population & Area, Census Bulletin No. 3, Office Of the Census Commissioner, Government of the Pakistan, Ministry of Interior, Karachi, 1951, pp. 2.

²⁶ Masud-UL-Hasan, P. *Pakistan Places of Interest*. Lahore: Ferosons Ltd, 2006, pp. 230.

²⁷ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 119.

kilometers, the government of Pakistan had decided to divide it into two districts on administrative grounds. At the time of foundation of Sargodha, there were only three Tehsils namely Sargodha, Bhalwal and Shahpur. But now, Sargodha is a division which has four districts i.e. Sargodha itself, Khusahb, Mianwali and Bhakkar. Now the present day Sargodha has Sargodha, Bhalwal, Shahpur, Kot Moman, Sillanwali, Sahiwal and Bhera Tehsil with 5,854 Square Kilometers area.²⁸ The following map shows the Sargodha district in 1998. Before further discussion, we must know about the irrigation system of Lower Jhelum Canal of Sargodha through which this area entered into a new dimension.

3.3 Irrigation System in Sargodha

As a result of the new colonial policy of British, wide series of irrigational projects were launched mainly across its linking canals and tributaries. Initially the focal area of the British policy revolved around large tracts of barren lands to transform them into fertile lands and to convert unoccupied wastelands into large productive area. The new annual irrigation capacity turned to about 12 million hectares and it had commanded area of about 20 million hectares.²⁹ The irrigations system of Sargodha has been divided into following canals and canal branches.³⁰

²⁸ District Pre-Investment Study, Sargodha, Directorate of Industries, Punjab Poonch House, Multan Road, Lahore, 2012, pp. 10.

²⁹ Swain, A, Environmental Cooperation in South Asia. In K. Conca, & G. D., *Environmental Cooperation in South Asia*. Washington D. C.: Woodrow Wilson Press, 2002, pp. 66.

³⁰ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 91.

3.3.1 Lower Jhelum Canal

Dividing the Sargodha and Gujrat districts, the canal roots out from Jehlum River at Rasul in Gujrat district and advances towards the Bhalwal Tehsil on the north east and curves round the south. The main line has its escape in the South-East edge of the Bhera Tehsil and has three main off-shoots-the northern and southern branch, and Khadir Feeder. All of these branches move westward and command almost whole of the Doab the northern branch bends near Sargodha district, southern branch, which escapes into the Jhelum above Sahiwal and in turn throws off the Ghazan Distributor.³¹

3.3.2 Muhajir Branch

From Indus River and Daud Khel in Mianwali district, this canal takes off. The main stream has its escape into the Indus River, above Kundian and has three main branches, Bhakkar Branch, Dullewala Branch and Muhajir Branch. The Muhajir Branch flows sound eastward and irrigates some area of Mianwali Tehsil (now District) and the great part of Khushab Tehsil (Now district).³²

3.3.3 Nullah Nathuwala

The system resembles with inundation canal. The canal owners usually take as the price of water one-fourth of the gross produce of the land irrigated, both grain and straw, after making the usual deduction for village Mueens, Piranwala, Noonanwala, Sultan Mehmood Wala, Chahrmi Wala, Sahib Khanwala, Mekanwala, Chillwala (Eehan Khanwala), Sarfraz Khanwala, Jhammatanwala, Nathuwala (still in working

³¹ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 92.

³² Ibid.

order), Kundanwala and Tootanwala (Megha) were the private canals in this district.³³ The following table shows the irrigated area in acres by each canal Tehsil during the year 1959-60.

Table 3.1

Irrigation system in Sargodha, 1961

Tehsil	Total	Area irrigated by			
		Lower Jhelum Canal	Muhajir Branch	Shahpur	Nala Nathuwala (Private canal)
Bhalwal	3,43,361	2,93,310	--	50,051	--
Sargodha	4,01,808	4,01,808	--	--	--
Shahpur	2,50,147	1,27,888	--	1,21,977	282
Khushab	1,41,675	--	1,41,675	--	--
Total	11,36,991	8,23,006	1,41,675	172,028	282

Source: District Census Report, 1961.

3.3.4 Canals

The following table shows the names of water canals with area in Sargodha.³⁴

Table 3.2

Till 1974 Sargodha has covered the following canals areas

Name of Water area	Area
Lower Jhelum (North & South Branch)	72 Km
Shahpur Branch	40 Km
Gondal Minor	72 Km
Sanika Minor	64 Km
Nabi Shah Jheel	150 Acres

Source: Un-published district Gazetteer of Sargodha, 1984.

³³ Population Census of Pakistan 1961 Population Census of Pakistan 1961, District Census Report Sargodha, Population Census Organization Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1961, pp. 21.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 30.

This canal was inaugurated by deputy commissioner Shahpur on Feb 22, 1903 by Sir Mailcum Healy who later became the Governor of Punjab in 1922. The foundation of Sargodha city was based on the land granted by Nangyana of Jalalpur Jadeed. There is a vast remounts depot on the left side of canal on the name of British as its first name was “Youngabad” but later on it was termed as “Sargodha” as discussed before. Shahpur, a small town, mainly comprises of two parts, Shahpur cantt (*Sadar*) and Shahpur city. On the left bank of river Jhelum, it is situated between Sargodha and Khushab. It was an old town of Hindu majority named “Rampur”. A famous saint of Iran, Hazrat Shah Shamas Sherazi, came from Shiraz and settled there. Later on, he tied himself in a divine until with the daughter of Jahangir. A vast area of land was gifted to him by Mughal emperor. With the settlement of Shah, it became Shahpur instead of “Rampur”. By a colony of sayeds, its adjacent villages like “Jalalpur”, “Nathuwala” and “Kotla Saidan” were founded. Shah Shama’s tomb can still be seen. The original tomb was to the north town but later on was carried away by the river to the east of town. That’s why; he is regarded as saint and worshipped like saints. A large annual fair is held by Tiwanas of Sargodha. People celebrate this event on the beginning of April (23 & 25 Chet) with great zeal and zest.

3.4 Population of Sargodha

Population statistics are affected by several factors. People entertain the vague ideas as to their real age and this common habit of preferring certain members to others in

stating ages.³⁵ The table shown the population variation from 1901 when the Sargodha was settled and till the 1961

Table 3.3

Population of Sargodha from 1901-1961

Year	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Population	6,45,001	7,19,918	8,21,490	9,98,921	11,62,988	14,67,621
Increase/decrease of Population over preceding Census	1,56,852	74,917	1,01,572	1,77,431	1,64,067	304,633
Percentage of increase/decrease over preceding Census	321	11.6	14.1	21.6	16.4	26.19

Source :- District census Report, 1961

3.5 Shrine in Sargodha

In Sargodha, there are many Shrines which should be discussed. Some important shrines are discussed as under:³⁶

3.5.1 Shah Shams Sherazi

Shah Shamas Sherazi has been supposed to have migrated from Iran to this part for preaching Islam during the rule of Mughals. It is said that the old name of Shahpur

³⁵ Population Census of Pakistan 1961 Population Census of Pakistan 1961, District Census Report Sargodha, Population Census Organization Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1961, pp. 45.

³⁶ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 107.

was Rampur and Hindu lived here in majority but after the arrival of Sufi saint Shah Shams Sherazi, the name of Rampur was changed into Shahpur.

3.5.2 Muhammad Shirazi

Shah Shamas Sherazi had five sons and Muhammad Sherazi was most beloved of Shah Shamas Sherazi. His tomb was in Shahpur and he was known for healing the people suffering from fever of all kinds.³⁷

3.5.3 Sakhi Shah Sultan Noori Qadri

Sakhi Shah Sultan Qadri was a Khalife of Hazrat Shah Maroof Qadri. He died in 1603 and was buried in Old Bhalwal. A water tank in the vicinity of his tomb is known for curing skin diseases.³⁸

3.5.4 Ahmad Alias Miran Shah Mahmadi

He is known as descendent from Imam Musa Kazim. He migrated from Bijapur (India) to Bhera. He was also appointed Mufti during the reign of Mughals. His tomb is in Mohallah Pir Asam Shah and known as Shah Naseer, Pir of Sial Sharif is said to have derived spiritual benefit from him. Among his followers, Amir Sultan Hayat is still alive in Pind Dadan Khan. Miran Shah died on Safar 24, 1092 and was buried at Sial Sharif. From his family, Khawaja Muhammad Zia-ud-Din challenged the

³⁷ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 108.

³⁸ Ibid.

authority of the British and took active part in Khilafat Movement and Khwaja Qamar-ud-Din Sialvi was a leading political figure of Sargodha.³⁹

3.5.5 Shah Shahbal Nabi Shah Khurd

Shah Shahbal was the son of Shah Oban whose Shahabal is situated in Nabi Shah Khurd, a village situated at a distance of 6 miles from Bhera.⁴⁰

3.5.6 Hazrat Udham Sultan

The tomb of Hazrat Udham Sultan is situated in Tartipur, a village about 5 miles away from Bhera. He is a son of Hazrat Shahabal Shah, a famous saint. His “*Urs*” is held on 14th and 15th of Sawan every year. He is also a descendent of Shah Shamas Shirazi.⁴¹

3.5.7 Khawaja Shamas -Ud- Din Pir Of Sial Sharif

Khawaja Shamas-ud-Din is known as Pir of Sial Sharif. He was Sial by Cast and descended of Ghazi Abbass son of Hazrat Ali (R.A.) the ancestor of the family, Sher Karam Ali, received his spiritual guidance from Hazrat Musa Pak Shahid of Multan. Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani sent Abdul Ali and he became famous by the title of Qutab Shah, Khawaja Shamas -Ud- Din was born in the house of Mian Muhammad Yar who was from the fifth generation of Sher Karar, the common ancestor.

³⁹ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 110.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 111.

⁴¹ Ibid.

Khawaja Shamas -Ud- Din belongs to Chishtia school of religion thoughts. After receiving his early education from Moulana Hafiz Dara of Kabul, he continued receiving spiritual guidance for about 26 year. At last, he settled at Sial Sharif. People all around approached him for religious learning. Darul- Uloom Zia was established by him at Sial Sharif. Khawaja Shamas-ud- Din died on 24 Safar and was buried at Sial Sharif. From his family, Khawaja Muhammad Zia-ud-Din challenged the authority of the British and took active part in Khilafat movement and Khawaja Muhammad Qamar-ud-Din Sialvi was a leading political figure of Sargodha.⁴²

3.6 Agricultural System in Sargodha

In Sargodha, like some other districts of Pakistan, can be seen feudal complexion. Half of the total land is occupied by big landlords. There is no doubt that previous land reforms have minimized the size of lands in the hands of landlords but still they have managed to have a large proportion of land. They used a formal way to keep land in their hands by gifting lands to their close relatives. However, when we see the records on papers, we find a squeezed rise of land. Among these landlords, some cultivate themselves while the rest of land is cultivated by the tenants.⁴³

The lands occupied during colonization were comparatively small in size. These lands are cultivated by the owners themselves. But still a few among these small land owners depend on a few among these small land owners depend on tenants or the people having not land at all. The following methods are used for farming in this district:-

⁴² Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 115.

⁴³ Ibid.

1. Bulloch cultivation
2. Semi-mechanized cultivation
3. Mechanized cultivation

3.7 Pakistan Air Force Base Sargodha (Now Mushaf Base)

In 1951, PAF Station Sargodha was primarily established as a care and maintenance party. It was given the status of Base in 1959 with two resident squadrons of F-86 and one Squadron of reconnaissance RT-33 aircraft. In 1961, F-104 fighter also became the part of fleet at Sargodha. Under the command of Group Capt. “Mitty” Masood, PAF Base, Sargodha forced the onslaught of the Indian Air Force in 1965. The base remained effective and operational during all attacks made by India. After the war of 1965, F-16 and Mirage aircrafts were included at Sargodha base. In the war of 1971, Sargodha again bore the brunt of the India attacks. The combat commanders’ school became an integral part of the base in 1976. In addition, normal operational training at the base has actively taken part in all PAF jet-stream exercises and has had the distinction of having won the professional’s trophy on all occasions.

3.7.1 Pakistan Air force Women

An organization for unified action for PAF women was felt. So after 1965 were, PAF women remained successful in their objectives and PAFWA was formed on December 21, 1965. Begum Farhat Noor Khan became the President of newly formed organization. In July 1978, Begam Talira Shamim took over the leadership of Pakistan Air Force Women Association and on August 14, 1978, she gave a constitution for the functioning of all PAFWA branches. PAFWA branch Sargodha

started welfare activities immediately. The aims and objections of the association were as follows.⁴⁴

1. Intelligent participation of women in the growth and development of the country.
2. Coordination among the social welfare activities for improving the social and economic conditions of P.A.F Personnel.
3. Improvement of health and well-being of P.A.F families.
4. To set up pilot demonstration Projects in the social welfare areas.

An institute namely Markaz-e PAFWA has been established at the base for ladies of the P.A.F to learn useful trades.

3.8 Local Government

In Punjab, Municipal Committee and district boards formed for urban and rural areas, respectively and were the oldest institutions of local government. These were set up under the Punjab Municipal Act, 1984, and the Punjab district board Act, 1883. After amendment in the Act of 1884 in 1881, notified committees were also set up in some small colony towns. In 1911, the Punjab Municipal Act was enforced and in 1922, the Punjab small town Act was promulgated followed by the First municipal corporation Act, 1941. With the enactment of Basic Democracies Order, 1959, a novel experiment in the sphere of local government was made by replacing the Punjab District Boards Act, 1883 and under this order were called “Local Councils” which not only meant a Tehsil Council for a Tehsil, a district council for a district and divisional council for a Division set up under the order but was also defined to

⁴⁴ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 215.

include a town committee in small towns, a union council for a number of villages grouped together and union committee in urban areas.⁴⁵

The population size was 10000 in cash having been constituted under section 57 of the Electoral College Act, 1964. Like the Basic Democratic Order 1959, the Municipal Administration Ordinance, 1960, setting up local government institution called Municipal Committees. It replaced the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911 and the city of Lahore Corporation Act, 1941.⁴⁶

Later on, the Punjab Peoples Government Ordinance, 1972 and the Punjab Local Government Ordinance, 1972 and the Punjab Local Government Ordinance, 1975 substituted by the Punjab Local Government Act, 1975 replaced the Basic Democracies Order and the Municipal Administration Ordinance. The new Punjab Local Government Ordinance, 1979, promulgated by the Governor of the Punjab on June 30, 1979, also envisages Local Government Institutions for urban and rural areas to be called "*Local Councils*". For rural areas, there were now *Union Councils* and *Zilla Councils*, for urban areas there were now Urban Local Councils known as town committees with population not exceeding 20,000 and for Municipal Corporation 5 Lac. The following map shows district Sargodha in 1998.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Population Census of Pakistan 1961 Population Census of Pakistan 1961, District Census Report Sargodha, Population Census Organization Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1961, pp. 109.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 110.

⁴⁷ The map has been taken from the 1998 census report, the reason of using the map beyond the time frame of 1974 has been discussed in limitation of study, for more detail see page no. 21.



Figure 3.1. Map of district Sargodha, 1998.

Source:- 1998 District Census Report, Organization, P. C. District Census Report of Sargodha District 1998 Cenus publication No. 36. Islamabad: Population Census Organization Statistics Division government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1999, pp. 351.

3.9 History of Khushab

Name of the Town of Khushab is a combination of two Persian words, 'Khush' and 'Aab'. 'Khush' means good or sweet and 'Aab' means water. The name of the town appears to have been derived from sweet ground water of the place. It is commonly delivered that it was sher Sha Suri⁴⁸ who gave this name to the place. As the story goes he once stayed at the place along with his army, on taking the water he found it sweet and acclaimed, '*Khus Aab*', thereby giving this name to the place. The town appears to have existed even before that. But particular year of its existence and its early history cannot be determined with certainty. There are many traditions regarding its year of creating. According to one tradition it was built in the year 1593 A.D. Another tradition says, it was founded by Sikandar Khan Son of Bahlol Khan Lodhi in early 16th century.⁴⁹

It was flourishing town at the time Babar entered Khyber Pass in (1504-1505 A.D) as he had frequently mentioned it in his memoirs. It also appeared from the same source, to have existed since before Timur Beg invaded Hindustan in the year 1398 A.D still nothing can be said for certain about its real age. What can at best be said about the town is that it is one of the oldest towns in this part of the Punjab. The town which is located on the right bank of river Jhelum had been affected by river floods many a times. By erosion of the right bank of the river at this point, the famous gardens of Ahmad Yar Khan and the fort built by Jafar Khan Baloch had

⁴⁸ Sher Shah Suri (1486-1545) was the founder of the Suri Empire in Indian. He is the Father of GT roads. Matta, Basheer Ahmad Khan. *Sher Shah Suri: A Fresh Perspective*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2005 retrieved on 23 February 2019.

⁴⁹ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Khushab, File No. 11584, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Khushab, 1977, pp. 1-2.

since been completely washed away. About nine tenths of the original residential area is said to have been encroached upon by the river at different times.⁵⁰

The existing town was constructed at its present site in the year 1865. It has a 30 wide and about half a mile long bazaar with streets opening on both sides. A circular road also runs around the town. Khushab was an important business centre in the area. It carried on trade with Multan, Sukkur, Derajat and Afghanistan. It supplied cotton, wool and ghee to Multan and Sukkur in exchange of English piece-goods, spices, iron, copper etc. it provided country cloth to Afghanistan and received dried fruit in return. Sugar and 'Gurr' was imported in the town from Amritsar and Jullundar. A number of tombs, like "Maqbara' Badshahan' said Ma,aroof, Hafiz Diwan and Nawab Sahib and Eid-Gah said to had been built during the reign of Sher Sha Suri are some of the older remains of the town.⁵¹

It is ancient town of great antiquity. It dates back 900 years and has witnessed great historical charges. It was invaded, destroyed and rebuilt as many as six times during the struggle for rule over its hinter land. The present town was established in 1540 during the reign of Sher Shah Suri. It had become a flourishing market centre and important seat of government in the past with the creation of Pakistan and establishment of industries and market in the surrounding towns and shift of government seat the towns functions declined.⁵² The town reflects character of an

⁵⁰ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Khushab, File No. 11584, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Khushab, 1977, pp. 1-2.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Bhalwal Agrovillage Development Plan volume I, Urban and Rural central, Agrovillages Development Plan Project Faisalabad, Housing and Physical Planning, 1979, pp. 6.

ancient walled city having an area of 6511 sq km⁵³ with eight gates leading to the central bazaar winding route.⁵⁴ Khushab is an old town in the area. It served a large hinter land in the Thal and Soon Valley see (appendix V). Of late some of its commercial load has been shared by the nearby town of Jauharabad. Still its commercial role in the area is of a major centre.⁵⁵ The following map shows district Khushab in 1998.⁵⁶



⁵³ Organization, P. C. District Census Report of Khushab 1998 Cenus publication No. 76. Islamabad: Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 2000, pp. 1.

⁵⁴ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Mianwali, File No. 11585, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Mianwali, 1977, pp. 6.

⁵⁵ Tour of Lyallpur, Sargodha and Khewra by Deputy High Commissioner, Lahore, File No. DO 142/390, The National Archives (TNA), United Kingdom (UK), 1950 see also Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Mianwali, File No. 11585, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Mianwali, 1977, pp. 15.

⁵⁶ The map has been taken from the 1998 census report, the reason of using the map beyond the time frame of 1974 has been discussed in limitation of study, for more detail see page no. 21.

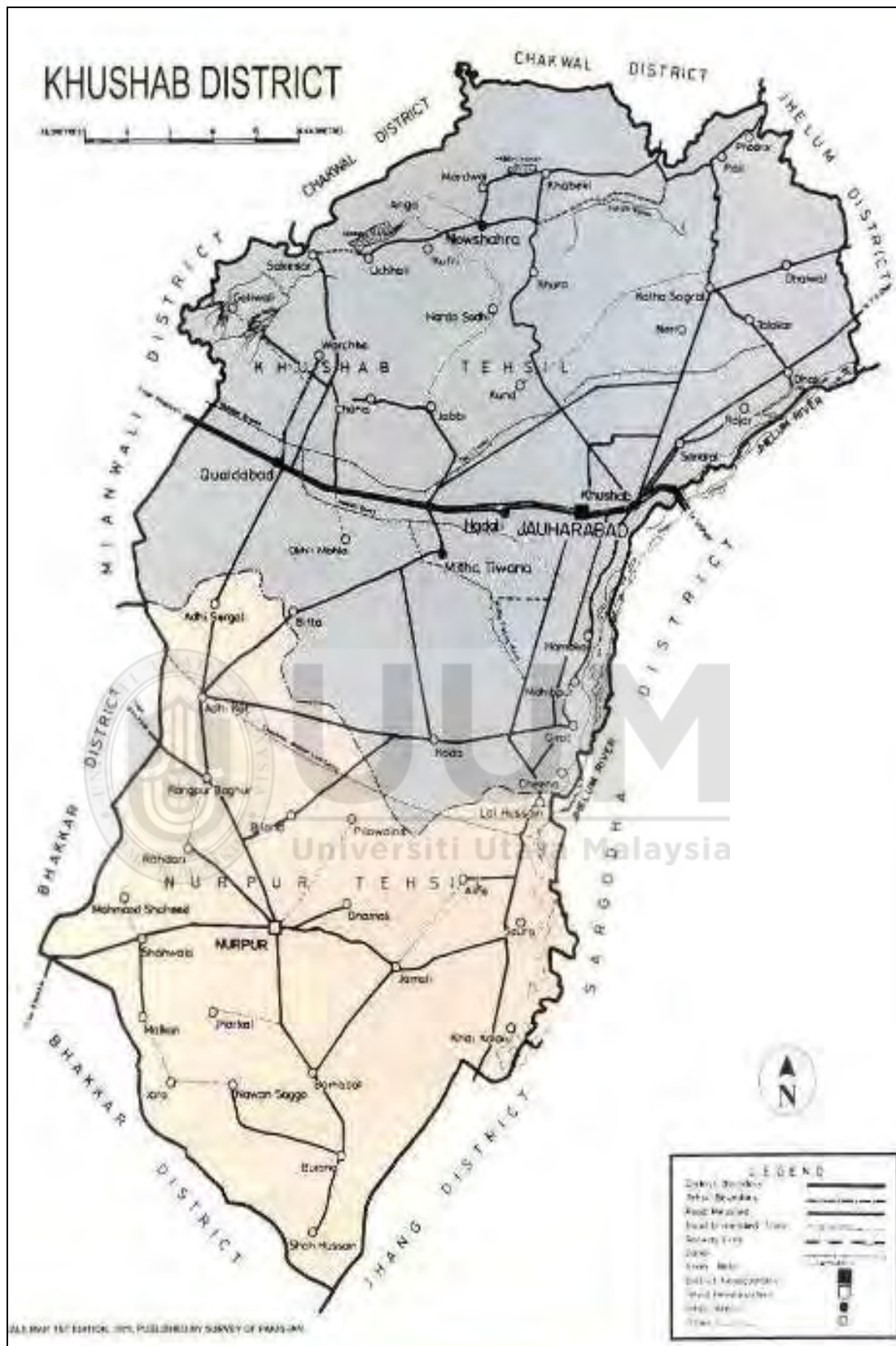


Figure 3.2. Map of District Khushab, 1998.

Source:- Brochure of district Khushab, Punjab Province, Statistics Division Population Census Organization, government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1998, pp .1.

3.10 History of Mianwali

In old times rivers were the main source of water, both for drinking as well as irrigation. These were also the Chief mode of transport and towns were mostly located on river banks. Mianwali is one of such towns. It owes its existence to the river Indus. Nothing can be stated with certainty about early history of the area now called the district of Mianwali except the fact that its inhabitants were Hindus and before the Christian era this area was a part of the Graeco-Bactrian Empire.⁵⁷ The area had been settled by a triple migration from opposite directions' the Awans from the north-east, Jats and Balochs from the South and Pathans from the North West.

The town of Mianwali came to be established in the 16th Century A.D. A Saint and a great preacher of Islam, named Mian Ali came from Baghdad alongwith his son Sultan Zakria and founded the village of Mianwali after his name.⁵⁸ It is situated on the eastern bank of the river Indus at a distance of about 80 miles from Sargodha with 5,840 Sq Km.⁵⁹ Sakesar hills and Musa Khel are located on its east. There are three main roads in this town. One of them connects the railway station with the Mianwali-Musakhel road near the Municipal Office. The other connects the railway station with the Mela Ground running through the main Bazar of the Town. The third

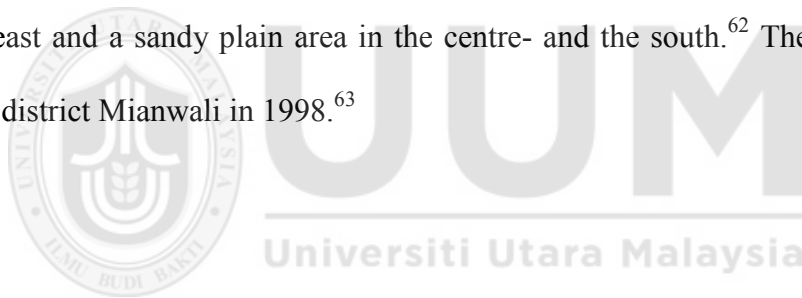
⁵⁷ The Greco-Bactrian Kingdom was alongside the Indo-Greek Kingdom, the easternmost piece of the Hellenistic world, covering Bactria and Sogdiana in Central Asia from 250 to 125 BC. It was fixated on the north of present-day Afghanistan. Byron, Robert. *The Road to Oxiana*. Random House, 2010, pp. 124.

⁵⁸ Population Census of Pakistan 1972, District Census Report Mianwali, Compiled and published under the authority of Brigadier (Retired) Abdul Latif Census Commissioner and Ex-officio Joint Secretary Census Organization Ministry of Interior, States And Frontier Regions Government Of Pakistan Islamabad, 1972, pp. 16.

⁵⁹ Census of Pakistan, 1951, Village List, Punjab Mianwali District, Office of the provincial Superintendent Census, Punjab & Bahawalpur, Lahore, 1951 pp. 2 see also Organization, P. C. District Census Report of Mianwali 1998 Census publication No. 70. Islamabad: Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 2000, pp. 1.

one starts from the Mela Ground on the western end of the town and running through the Civil Lines area connects the town with Musakhel and Attock.⁶⁰

On the formation of the new North-West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P) (Now Kyber Pukhtunkhwa (KPK) in 1901 the two Tehsils of Mianwali and Isa Khel of the old Bannu district and the two Tehsils of Bhakkar and Layya of the old Dera Ismail Khan district were excluded from that Province and formed into a new district called Mianwali (by government notification No. 995, dated 17th October 1901) with the headquarters at Mianwali.⁶¹ With the exception of Isa Khel Tehsil which is on the west of the Indus River the entire district lies on the east of the Indus. The district may broadly be divided into two parts, a hilly area in the north, north-west and the north-east and a sandy plain area in the centre- and the south.⁶² The following map shows district Mianwali in 1998.⁶³



⁶⁰ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Mianwali, File No. 11585, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Mianwali, 1977, pp. 1-2.

⁶¹ Punjab District Gazetteers volume XXX A, Mianwali District, File No. K-21(a), Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1915, pp. 7.

⁶² 1981 District Census Report of Mianwali, Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan Islamabad, 1982, pp. 1.

⁶³ The map has been taken from the 1998 census report, the reason of using the map beyond the time frame of 1974 has been discussed in limitation of study, for more detail see page no. 21.

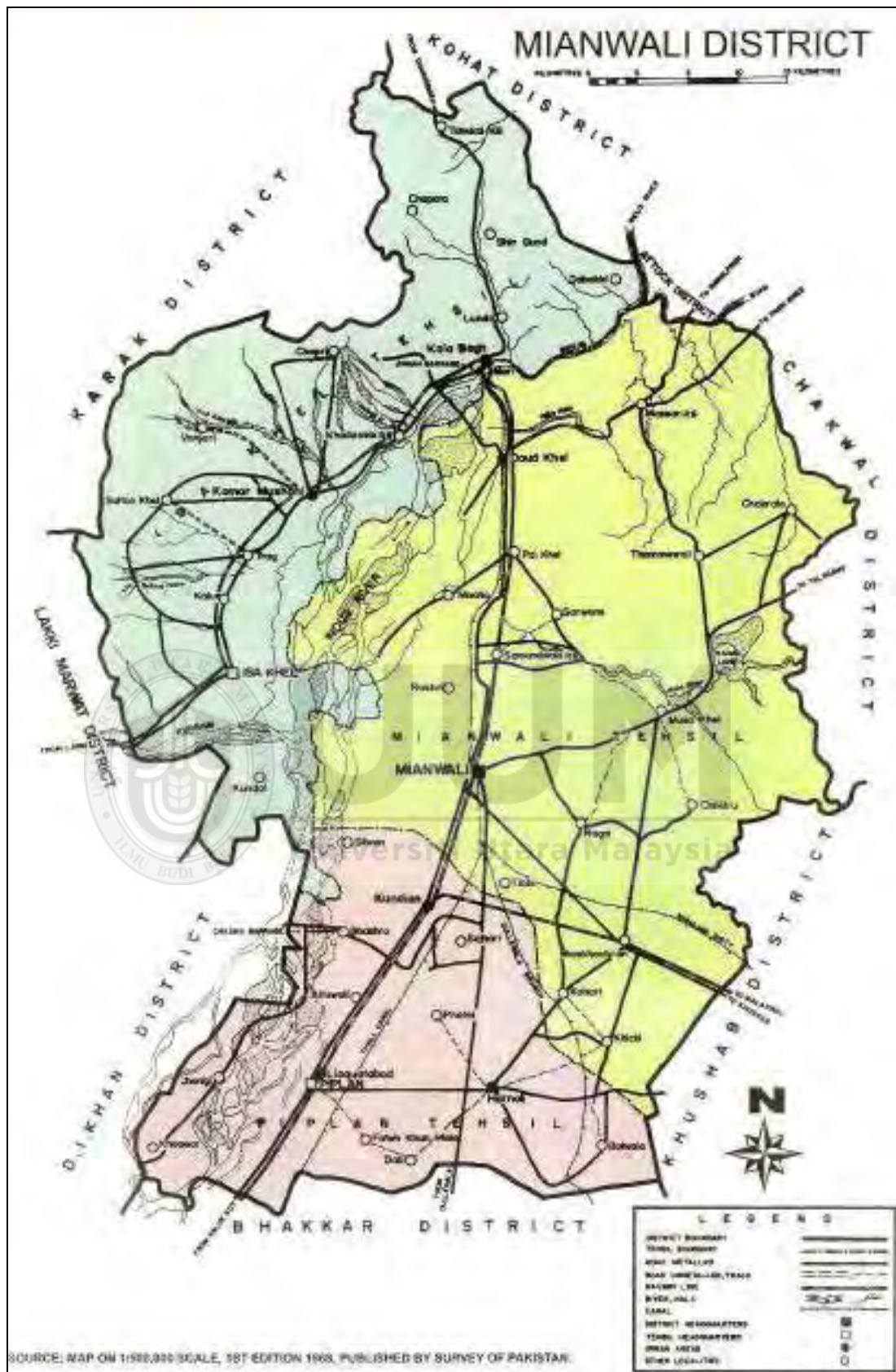


Figure 3.3. Map of District Mianwali, 1998.

Source:- Brochure of District Mianwali, Punjab Province, Statistics Division Population Census Organization, government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1998, pp .1.

3.11 History of Bhakkar

The district of Bhakkar derives its name from the district headquarters town probably named after Bhakkar Khan Alias Bhako, one of the early settlers.⁶⁴ The Bhakkar district was created in 1982 after slicing the area from district Mianwali of which it was a part as a sub-division. Beside sub-division Bhakkar, sub divisions Kullurkot and Mankera were also established to constitute the new district. Moreover Darya khan has been carved out as independent Tehsil or Sub-Division from Bhakkar sub-division in the wake of the re-shuffling of newly created district. Up to 1860 Bhakkar sub-division was known as Darya Khan. At the time of annexation by the British the tract was divided between the old Mankera and Darya Khan Tehsils. In 1853-54 Mankera Tehsil was abolished. Khushab Tehsil was transferred to Shahpur.

In 1861 Layyah district was abolished and merged with the new Dera Ismail Khan (D.I. Khan) along with Bhakkar. On the separation of North West Frontier province (N.W.F.P) now Kyber Pukhtunkhwa (KPK) from the Punjab in 1901, a further reconstitution took place and Mianwali, Bhakkar and Layyah were formed. In 1909 Layyah Tehsil was transferred to Muzaffargarh district.⁶⁵ Bhakkar Tehsil of Mianwali district has now been constituted as Bhakkar district from 1 July 1982 on administration grounds with four Tehsils at Mankera, Kallurkot, Darya Khan and

⁶⁴ 1981 District Census Report of Bhakkar, Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan Islamabad, 1982, pp. 36.

⁶⁵ Punjab District Gazetteers volume XXX A, Mianwali District, File No. K-21, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1912, pp. 5.

Bhakkar itself. After having the status of district in 1982, Bhakkar districts became a part of Sargodha division.⁶⁶

3.11.1 Thal of Bhakkar

The Thal, the Great Sandy Desert and prairie lies above the two high banks of the Indus River. It is further divided into two natural namely Thal kalan and Daggar. The Thal Kalan or the Greater Thal characterizes scanty rainfall, treeless sandy and abundance of sand dunes with catered pasture. This condition of Thal is gradually changing. *Barani* cultivation is being supplemented by tube-wells being installed in Mankera, Hyderabad, Dhigana and Khasore area. To the west of the Thal Kalan is the tract known as “Daggar”, The Thal canal of Daggar most of which were leveled by the then Thal Development Authority (T.D.A) has transferred barren tract into the green rolling fields.⁶⁷ The following map shows district Bhakkar in 1998.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ 1981 District Census Report of Bhakkar, pp. 25 see also Bhakkar, Punjab Municipal Improvement Project, Office of the Tehsil Municipal Administration, Bhakkar, Government of the Punjab, 2011, pp. 12 see also Population Census of Pakistan 1972, District Census Report Mianwali, Compiled and published under the authority of Brigadier (Retired) Abdul Latif Census Commissioner and Ex-officio Joint Secretary Census Organization Ministry Of Interior, States And Frontier Regions Government Of Pakistan Islamabad, 1972, pp. 25.

⁶⁷ 1998 District Census Report, pp. 2, Organization, P. C. District Census Report of Bhakkar District 1998 Census publication No. 36. Islamabad: Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1999, pp. 25 see also Annual Police Plan, Office of the District Police Officer, Bhakkar, 2002, pp. 12.

⁶⁸ The map has been taken from the 1998 census report, the reason of using the map beyond the time frame of 1974 has been discussed in limitation of study, for more detail see page no. 21.

Sargodha division is consisting of mostly rural areas. The people are mostly agriculturist. There was a big demographic and economic change in Sargodha because most of the non-Muslims who migrated towards India were running their own business while on the other side the Muslim refugees were mostly related to agricultural fields. A gap between local and refugee people still exist even after the 71 years of partition (1947-2018). From the East Punjab the majority of the refugees to Sargodha belonged to Jullandar, Ambala, Ludhiana and district Karnal of Ambala Division⁶⁹ and these Muslims majority areas affected more during the riots.

The settlement of relocated individuals from India began in 1947 and finished up in 1974. Sargodha was among those urban communities of the Punjab where the uproars were at the most reduced level or these mobs occurred just in the surroundings of the Sargodha. Particularly, in the city of Sargodha, no mobs were recorded at the partition time. Be that as it may, Sargodha division confronted statistic move and financial changes at the time of the division of the Punjab. The monetary concerns either agrarian or non-rural were deserted or shut due to relatively add up to movement of the non-Muslims to India as they secured all the financial existence of Sargodha division. At the point when non-Muslims cleared, all the while, the relocation of Muslims began from East Punjab. Like settlements in alternate urban areas of Punjab, numerous transients settled to Sargodha division. The resettlement and restoration of outcasts made numerous issues. The word related structure of non-Muslim in Sargodha was totally disparate to that of the Muslim refugees to Sargodha.

⁶⁹ Rasul, S. A, *The History of Sargodha*, Sargodha: University of Sargodha, 2006, pp. 238 see also Statistics of Resettlement of Refugees in West Punjab with the Compliment of the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, File No. 188, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1948, pp. 12-13.

3.12 Conclusion

The fruitful place that is known for Sargodha division was extremely celebrated on its foundation. Indeed, even today, it is one of the key urban communities of Pakistan regarding rural and non-farming improvement. The citrus of Sargodha is extremely well known in Pakistan as well as on the world. Notwithstanding neighborhood individuals of Sargodha, individuals having a place with various ethnicities additionally occupy in it. The post-1947 improvement in Sargodha division is especially huge as Sargodha division assumed a commanding job at the local level as well as at the national. Notwithstanding, a little research is accessible about the commitments of Sargodha. In the next chapters the study not only focused on migration and resettlement, but also analyzed its effects on socio-political and economic milieu that led the Sargodha division to its zeal and zest.

Economics is the back bone of any state, when we estimate the economical development of a country two key factors is evaluated; Agriculture and Industry. In post independence era the economic systems that was dependent upon the factories, banks, industries, cultivable land etc was disturbed because the majority of non-Muslims who run them had left for their new country. Before Independence there were only a few oil Mills functioning at Sargodha but after partition the district has made rapid progress in industrialization. Hence the development of industry in Sargodha division triggered the small scale and medium scale enterprise but large scale industrial revolution was not extended to a mentionable size. The refugee entrepreneurs played an important role in the growth of the small industry which had barely existed before 1947. The Sargodha's *Kino's* Industry which is frequently

regarded as a Pakistani economic success story took many years before it surpassed the 1946 production levels.



CHAPTER FOUR

INFLUX OF REFUGEES IN SARGODHA DIVISION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter has a great potential and will certainly improve our understating of formative phase of Pakistan form refugees perspective. Influx of refugees delve into the rehabilitation of Punjabi refugees, peeping deep the provincial side asserting a complete focus on divisional level i.e. Sargodha to unveil their patterns of settlement. Like other cities, some of the refugees from the Eastern Punjab also came to Sargodha for settlement as a governmental push. The chapter under consideration is bi fold; The impact of partition on refugees coming to Sargodha and their reaction accompanied by the communal riots and violence that spread as a civil war among the refugees and the residents of Sargodha division as well as in whole Punjab. They were war-torn, exhausted and penniless. The birth of Pakistan and specially the independence from British is marked with jubilation in Sub-continent but it seems that only Punjab paid all the credit for this independence.

After partition of India, one of the biggest ever a procedure of constrained movement was set off. We did not know what sinister designs were at play and what hidden hands have aided and abetted preparations for this massacre. The fact remained that the Muslims of Eastern Punjab were being butchered in thousands merely because they were Muslims. The effects of partition on refugees are far deep rooted then the estimation. After the seventy years of independence of Pakistan, the people who refugees from India towards Pakistan still called ‘Refugees’.

The procedure of migration itself is not only a stage, but rather a progression of occasions, which are affected by various variables over a delayed timeframe and these stages consequently are impacted by different components at social and individual levels. The migration of the Muslim refugees towards newly born state had their own impact. They had different stories of the violence that happened in the East and West Punjab due to violence or riots they have to move towards Pakistan and India respectively. On the other hand the problem faced by the Muslims during the rehabilitation process had another impact on their lives. This Chapter is likewise investigating the new levels of vulnerability and smoothness created by autonomy, in India and Pakistan particularly in Sargodha division, and it will likewise researches the impact of these occasions on the 'regular state' in the years promptly taking after 1947.

4.2 Partition's effect in Shape of Violence in Punjab

History specialists have demonstrated that the creation after August 1947 of two free states, India and Pakistan, out of British India, was an extensive, untidy and troublesome process.¹ They have investigated the routes in which these new states, as they adapted to the disturbances of segment, needed to manufacture their authenticity and characterize their nationals.² What's more, they had revealed insight into the bay between the guarantees flexibility and advancement and the relocation, disturbance

¹ Vazira Fazila-Yacoobali Zamindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia: Refugees, Boundaries, Histories*, New York, 2007, pp. 97 see also Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*, New Haven, 2007, pp. 111.

² Ian Talbot, "Punjabi Refugees' Rehabilitation and the Indian State: Discourses, Denials and Dissonances", *Modern Asian Studies*, 2011, pp. 109.

and dissatisfaction that portrayed the experience of autonomy for some.³ The Muslims refugees from East Punjab had a great fight on their way into Pakistan.⁴

The partition resulted in a bloody civil war especially in the Punjab upon which violence erupted which resulted in enormous casualties. This great tragedy in the history with ruthless massacring of the Muslims of sub-continent resulted in absolute collapse of the new societies. Which have also a great impact on the society. They were destroyed with hammers, swords, hockey sticks, daggers, bamboos and bricks and other things that they found in their hands. Women were raped and dishonored, men were slaughtered, even the newly-born infants and the young children were not spared of death. The job of killing, looting and abduction of women was seen in every place whether it was Muslim population or that of non-Muslims, their properties were plundered if they were in minorities. In short, in the whole partition process, everyone affected in a direct or indirect way. Nearly half a million people died within a few months of partition.⁵

The mass communal violence during partition had deep socio-political roots and impact.⁶ The mutual implication in those events of Muslims, on the one hand, and Hindus and Sikhs, on the other,⁷ has not led to equity, much less the cancelling out, of suspicion in post-partition South Asia. Rather, the collective memory made

³ Zamindar, Long Partition and..., pp. 117.

⁴ "The Muslims Refugees from East Punjab" *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 30 August 1947, pp. 1.

⁵ Saleem, A, *Partition, Violence and Migration: The Case of Miana Gondal, Working Paper Series # 85*, Islamabad: SDPI, 2003, pp. 13.

⁶ Das, Veena, *Critical Events: An Anthropological Perspective on Contemporary India*, New Delhi & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 186.

⁷ Ibid, pp. 118-136.

through the calculated, reciprocal inaction of pain⁸ had spun out a perpetual vortex of ill-feeling, within which remains trapped the Indian Muslim as residue of partition politics. Partition did not result in a neat demographic reassignment of the major South Asian religions into the two new territories. Communal riots in India were not spontaneous mob eruptions, but orchestrated acts of violence against interventions.⁹ Muslims triggered through the selective deployment, by extremist groups, of partition stories and memories.¹⁰ Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan¹¹ Prime Minister of Pakistan said that Communal situation danger to Pakistan.¹² Even after the 71 years of independence (1947-2018) the relation between Pakistan and India was not going smooth, the communal disturbance was also aroused in the Malda and other districts in West Bengal, hundred of Muslims were killed and remaining were forced to migrate towards East Pakistan.¹³



⁸ Das, *Critical Events: An...*, pp.175-196.

⁹ Political Situation in India since Independence, File No. DO 142/259, TNA, UK, 1947.

¹⁰ Boundary Commission awards Punjab and Bengal and disturbances arising there from, File No. DO 133/60, TNA, UK, 1947 See also Butalia, Urvashi, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India*, New Delhi: Penguin India, 1998, pp. 7-8 and Kabir, Ananya Jahanara, "Subjectivities, Memories, Loss of pigskin Bags, Silver Spittoons and the Partition of India," *Interventions*, 2002, pp. 249.

¹¹ Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, generally known as Quaid-e-Millat and Shaheed-e-Millat, was one of the main establishing fathers of Pakistan. He was the first Prime Minister of Pakistan conceived on first October 1895, Karnal, India, Kazimi, Muhammad Reza. *Liaquat Ali Khan: His Life and Work*, Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 1-2.

¹² "Communal Situation Danger to Pakistan", *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 3 September 1947, pp. 12.

¹³ Hindu/Moslem riots in India and Pakistan, File No. DO 196/145, TNA, UK, 1962 see also File No. DO 196/343, TNA, UK, 1962-64 see also Hindu refugees from East Pakistan, File No. DO 196/554, TNA, UK, 1964 See also Relations between India and Pakistan, File No. FO 371/136184, TNA, UK, 1958 and Relations between India and Pakistan, File No. FO 371/136185, TNA, UK, 1958, Relations between India and Pakistan, File No. FO 371/136186, TNA, UK, 1958 and Hindu/Moslem riots in India and Pakistan, File No. DO 196/342, TNA, UK, 1964.

The Muslims in India was the second biggest community in the nation, taking after the Hindus, and it frames the biggest Muslim minority in the subcontinent. As far back as the decay of Mughal administer in India, Muslims in India had been confronting collective mobs and clashes from a few fragments of the Hindu people group who were communalists and aggressors.¹⁴ Standard records of the 1947 violence in the Punjab usually focus on the disarranged of mid-August when the apparatus of state was presently move or being disassembled and even the limit divisions were dubious. Viciousness in the Punjab's real towns and urban communities were certainty begun as right on time as March 1947 when the main genuine development of individuals started thus of the Rawalpindi killings of Hindus and Sikhs. Viciousness later crested at the season of the British flight and the declaration of the Boundary award in August.¹⁵

The riots just took full hold when Khizr reported his renunciation on 2 March 1947. This irritated the Sikh¹⁶ Akali Dal as it brought the possibility of Pakistan closer, as well as appeared to open the route for a Muslim League government in the Punjab. The unsettling influences which started in both Lahore and Amritsar undulated out to

¹⁴ Kausar, Zeenath, "Communal Riots in India: Hindu-Muslim Conflict and Resolution," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 2006, pp. 353.

¹⁵ Events in India and Pakistan July - Aug 1947, File No. DO 142/14, TNA, UK, 1947 see also Mcmenamin, D. O. R. O. T. H. Y, "Anglo-Indian Experiences during Partition and its Impact Upon their Lives," *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 2006, pp. 83 and Ian Talbot in "Literature and the Human Drama of the 1947 Partition", in *South Asia*, Vol. XVIII, 1995, pp. 41-47.

¹⁶ Sikhism, a religion established by Guru Nanak in the fifteenth century, has a long and glad military custom. Sikhs see themselves as an exceptional people, and some of them have endeavored to build up an autonomous political state since 1947. The yearning for a self-ruling country to be called Khalistan (gotten from the idea of Khalsa-a picked race of warrior holy people), alongside various other financial, social, and social grievances, has set Sikhs against their Hindu neighbors, the nearby police, and the national government in the course of recent years see also Bryjak, George J, "Collective Violence in India," *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 1986, pp. 38.

different parts of the territory.¹⁷ The next day Hindus and Sikhs arranged a counter-exhibit, and after a parade to the governing body in Lahore, Tara Singh, the Sikh pioneer, mounted the means of the building and, sword close by, raised the motto, "*Pakistan Murdabad*" That night at Kapurthala House, he proceeded in a similar vein:

“O Hindus and Sikhs! Be ready for self-destruction like the Japanese and the Nazis. Our motherland is calling for blood and we shall satiate the thirst of our motherland with blood. By crushing Moghulistan we shall trample Pakistan! . . . the Sikhs ruled over the Muslims with their might and the Sikhs shall even now rule over them. We shall rule over them and get the government fighting. I have sounded the bugle. Finish the Muslim League.”¹⁸

The Punjab was gotten in a bedlam of remarkable viciousness. These slaughters asserted a large number of lives. While it is practically difficult to touch base at even inexact figures, the most moderate assessments put the loss of life at approximately 180,000, while G. D. Khosla, an Indian High Court Judge, who analyzed the question intently put the aggregate number of setbacks at around 200,000-250,000 non-Muslims and an equivalent number of Muslims. With respect to the loss of property the Indian government assessed that the Hindus and Sikhs who left West Punjab lost Rs. 500 *crores*,¹⁹ while comparative evaluations for the misfortune to Muslims who left East Punjab was put at Rs. 100 *crores*. General Rees, General officer Commanding (GOC) the Punjab Boundary Force interviewed the leaders of the

¹⁷ Jeffrey, Robin, “The Punjab Boundary Force and the Problem of Order, August 1947,” *Modern Asian Studies*, 1974, pp. 499.

¹⁸ Jeffrey, The Punjab Boundary..., pp. 499.

¹⁹ One Crore is equal to 10 million Pakistani rupees.

Muslims and also of the Sikhs and Hindus, who gave his assurance and promises of reciprocal efforts to bring to an end all violence against life and property including religious buildings and railways.²⁰

The leaders of the Punjab joint appeal for peace in the Punjab. This is not the time for apportionment of blame or one party or the other. These governments are fully determined to work for the establishment of peace and for inspiring confidence amongst the minorities on either side.²¹ From the East Punjab the majority of the refugees to Sargodha belonged to Jullandar, Ambala, Ludhiana and district Karnal of Ambala Division²² and these Muslims majority areas affected more during the riots.



²⁰ “The Award”, *The Pakistan Times*, 19 August 1947, pp. 3.

²¹ Report by Lady Mountbatten on Present Position in India (From 7 May to 20 August 1947), File No. DO 121/69, TNA, UK, 1947 see also Lady Mountbatten's report on conditions in India, File No. IOR/L/PO/6/102C, The British Library, United Kingdom and “The Award”, *The Pakistan Times*, 19 August 1947, pp. 3.

²² Rasul, S. A, *The History of Sargodha*, Sargodha: University of Sargodha, 2006, pp. 238 see also Statistics of Resettlement of Refugees in West Punjab with the Compliment of the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, File No. 188, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1948, pp. 12-13.

Table 4.1

*Distribution of Refugees by District According to their Places of Origin in East Punjab States and refugees places (Figures in thousands)*²³

Shifted from Indian district	Settled in Sargodha division	
	Shahpur (Sargodha & Khushab)	Mianwali (Mianwali & Bhakkar)
Amritsar	13.1	0.2
Gurdaspur	7.0	0.2
Jullundur	14.4	0.2
Hoshiarpur	16.1	0.2
Ambala	40.0	7.8
Grand Total	90.6	8.6

Source: Punjab Archive, Lahore, 1947.

From the above figure we can see that around ninety thousand Muslims refugees from East Punjab district and settled in Sargodha and Khushab district while about eight thousand settled in Mianwali and Bhakkar district.²⁴

Series of extremely militant speeches by Sikh and Hindu leaders were developed into widespread communal rioting. It was described in a number of newspaper headlines as the “War against Pakistan”. In Jullundur the slogan *Jo Mangega Pakistan, Us Ko Milega Qabristan* “Whoever want Pakistan, he will sanction with graveyard” was shouted, in addition the commonly used *Pakistan Murdabad*. The situation in East

²³ Statistics of Resettlement of Refugees in West Punjab with the Compliment of the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, File No. 188, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1948, pp. 12-13.

²⁴ Mianwali and Bhakkar Districts are the part of Sargodha Region. The Mianwali is a district in the North West of Punjab Province, Pakistan while the Bhakkar District was created out of parts of Mianwali in 1982.

Punjab is bad. The Sikhs were operating in large gangs which caused great trouble.²⁵ The bad news from affected towns, especially from Amritsar, Multan, Rawalpindi and Lahore has had a most disturbing effect throughout the Province. Members of all communities have hurried to arm themselves and there had been an unprecedented rush to secure *kirpans*, *kulharis* and *lathis*.²⁶ 16 persons were killed and 14 other were injured when an armed gang raided the village of Jand, in Phillaur Tehsil of Jullundur district. The village of Masant of Jullundur district was also raided, resulting in two persons being killed.²⁷

Jullundur situation was uneasy and trouble in Hoshiarpur rural areas. Khan Iftikhar Hussain khan of Mamdot, Sardar Shaukat hayat khan an Mian Mohammad Mumtaz Daultana discussed the Jullundur and Hoshisupr situation with the General Rees, Commander of the Punjab Boundary Force and discussed with measure for the organization and protection of refugee camp at Jullundur.²⁸ In Amritsar, the situation is about as bad as it could be, and a large part of Hall Bazaar, which is the main shopping and Business Street in the city, has been burnt down. There was a major clash between Sikhs and Muslims in which nineteen Muslims are stated to have been killed. Total casualties were estimated at that day was about 117. A 24 hour curfew had been imposed on the city in an effort to restore the situation and troops and

²⁵ General Messervy, General Rees, 13 August 1947, File No. R/3/171, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

²⁶ "Communal Situation", *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 5 August 1947, pp. 8.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ "Jullundur situation uneasy", *The Pakistan Times*, 21 August 1947, pp. 1.

Police had been drafted in large number.²⁹ And in a single attack in Ludhiana 200 Muslims refugees killed and 100 injured, the mob of Sikhs fired 1800 rounds.³⁰

Master Tara Singh, speaking in the Dera Sahib Gurdwara at Lahore stressed the need for the Sikhs to establish their “Raj” in the Punjab and to prepare for imminent civil war. He explained that “no agreement between the Hindus and Muslims would ever be possible and thus the Sikhs must make preparations at once to wrest the Punjab from the Muslims when the British quit India”. As a result of the speeches made in Amritsar and Lahore and of similar speeches elsewhere, notably in Lyallpur now Faisalabad where the district Commander of the Akal Fauj and the President of the district Congress Committee declared their opposition to any form of Pakistan at Sheikhupura where Ishar Singh Mahajail exhorted the Sikhs to be prepared for all sacrifices, and at Jullundur where speeches were made on the same communal lines, Sikh tempers rose to a most dangerous pitch.³¹

This mass movement, the height of which occurred inside a time of three to four months after freedom from British, was led against a background of monstrous severity and savagery and in an air aroused with interests. However, inquisitively enough, considering the greatness of the progressions, both as far as the sheer cost to human lives, and in the test postured by this brutality to the expert and authenticity of

²⁹ India Command daily Security Summary, File No. WO 208/3819, TNA, UK, 1947 see also Extract from C.I.O. Lahore's Daily Report dated 7.3.1947, File No. R/3//89, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

³⁰ Letter from U.K. High Commission in India to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Communal disturbance in India, File No. Do 142/24, TNA, UK, 1947.

³¹ Police Abstract of Intelligence for the week ending 8 March, 1947, Compiled by National Documentation Wing, Islamabad, 1947, pp. 85.

the state, particularly given the changing way of that state.³² The failure to control the situation is due mainly because the nature of the trouble is such that decisive action by the Police and Troops is impossible. Moreover the justice was far too slow. If a man was driven to take sides, he naturally sides with his own community, and there has been partiality. There has also been some negligence and indiscipline.³³

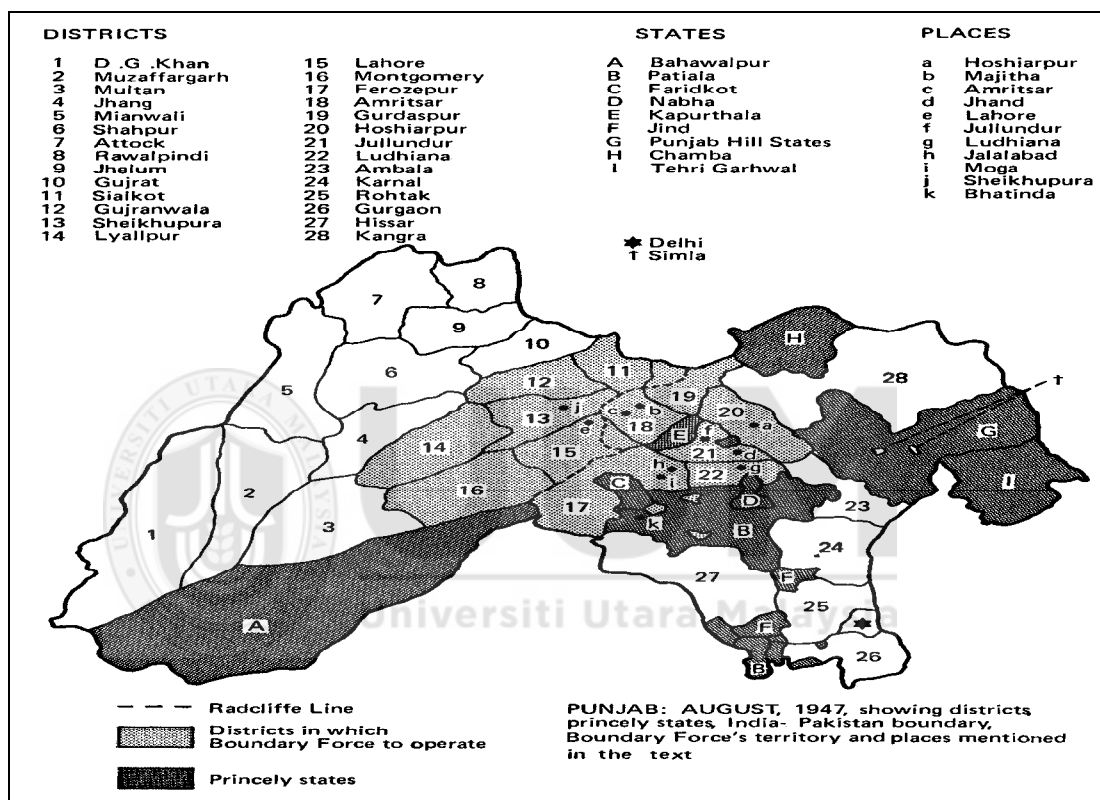


Figure 4.1. Boundary Force's Territory and Places, 1947.

Source:- Marston, Daniel P, "The Indian Army, Partition, and the Punjab Boundary Force, 1945-1947," *War in History*, 2009, pp. 470.

³² Mr. Ghulam Mohamed the then Finance Minister of Pakistan blamed that the Sikhs and the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (R.S.S.S) were organizing riots to exterminate Muslims in the Punjab and that Lord Mountbatten did not take any action against the Sikhs even when pestered by the leader of Muslim League. These riots further caused the forced migration from East Punjab for more information see also "Criticism of the handling of the Sikhs by Lord Mountbatten before the partition of India", File No. DO 133/100, DO 133/60 and DO 133/61, TNA, UK, 1947 see also Lord Mountbatten's position re amendment of Radcliffe boundary award and failure to arrest Sikh leaders in Punjab trouble, File No. PREM 8/821, TNA, UK, 1948.

³³ Sir E. Jenkins to Lord Mountbatten, File No. R/3/1/91, The British Library, United Kingdom. 1947.

A Column was written in the Pakistan Time newspaper with the title of “Punjab Problem” described that in recent history the present orgy of barbarism has no parallel except perhaps the events which followed the failure of the rising of 1857. That was 90 years ago. It was the hour of our defeat and British imperialism, wanting to teach a lesson to a presumptuous people who dared attempt to liberate their country from foreign subjugation, let loose a reign of terror over the countryside. Today we have achieved a State of our own in a part on this Sub-Continent a State where we hope to build up a free life for its people. In this hour of our victory certain forces had organized a similar reign of terror against our brothers across the borders. Wanton and ruthless killings were going on as a result of an organized plan. We did not know what sinister designs were at play and what hidden hands have aided and abetted preparations for this massacre. The dislocation of millions of people has created problems which can no longer be dealt with on the provincial level.³⁴

Muslim fought for independence and after getting their goal they wanted to have more food, more clothing, more houses, but so far as have to be disappointed. They wanted bread but they have got stones.³⁵ The refugees had no home and no village to go to. They would hang about the streets of the larger towns or live and have to be fed in camps.³⁶ This surely marked a great impact on their further life in Pakistan.³⁷ It is said by Mr. Liaqat Ali khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan that the Pakistan

³⁴ “The Punjab Problem”, *The Pakistan Times*, 28 August 1947, pp. 4.

³⁵ Constituent Assembly (Legislature) of Pakistan Debates, Monday 1 March 1948, File No. D-50 (3).1, 1948, Punjab Archives, pp. 55.

³⁶ A Note on Rehabilitation. File No 803, Proceedings and other papers relating to joint refugee and rehabilitation council, National Archives, Islamabad, pp. 49.

³⁷ Sengupta, Vishnupriya, “Of “other” Histories and Identities: Partition Novels from the Indian Subcontinent,” *Social Semiotics*, 2009, pp. 509.

achieved due to sacrifices of the Muslims-Men, Women and children of the minority provinces who suffered horrible and many of them even sacrificed their lives for the cause.³⁸

The refugees were talking about the horrors inflicted upon them, often without reticence, and the tension had, before, become further aggravated. At many places, the arrival of refugees was followed by attacks by non-Muslims. The rioting which was previously confined largely to Lahore spread all over the province. The Khaksars, Ahrars and disgruntled Muslim Leaguers had been at hand to exploit the prevailing frustration of the Muslim community and efforts were made to stir up the refugees against the government. Efforts have been made also, chiefly by refugees from Amritsar, to excite the Muslims of the West Punjab and to provoke them to commit acts of arson, looting and stabbing against non-Muslims. Non-Muslim property was seized at some places. While the people of Punjab want a quick return to normal conditions, the malevolent elements from the East Punjab are exploiting the discontent and advocate retaliation.³⁹

4.3 Abduction of Women

The figure of the abducted woman became symbolic of crossing borders, of violating social, cultural and political boundaries. By the time that the rape, looting, and migrations were finished, "about eight to ten million people had crossed over from

³⁸ "Muslims have to do an Uphill Task", *The Pakistan Times*, 21 August 1947, pp. 1.

³⁹ Punjab Police Abstract for the week ending 23 August, 1947, Compiled by National Documentation Wing, Islamabad, 1947, pp. 360.

Punjab and Bengal and about 500,000-1,000,000 had perished.”⁴⁰ Estimates of the dead vary from 200,000 (the contemporary British figure) to two million (a later Indian estimate) but that somewhere around a million people died is now widely accepted, about 75,000 women are thought to have been abducted and raped by men of religions different from their own.⁴¹

Between 6 December 1947 and 27 April 1948 somewhere in the range of 3,912 non-Muslim women and kids were recuperated from West Punjab, with an expected 11,430. The quantity of Muslim ladies recuperated from East Punjab amid a similar period was 7,495 to June 1948 the number of ladies recouped from Pakistan and India were 5,270 and 8,344 individually. This horrendously moderate rate of recuperation proceeded until 30 November 1948 when the East Punjab Liaison Agency was shut, alongside the Central Recovery Office related with it. From that point the recuperation work was led by the outer issues services of India and Pakistan.⁴²

Till 1950 a total of 2,999 number of Muslim abducted women and children recovered from India and brought to Pakistan during the period from January, 1948 to February, 1950.⁴³ In 1949 the Indian parliament passed the Abducted Persons

⁴⁰ Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin, *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India's Partition*, Delhi, 1998, pp. 20 & 35.

⁴¹ Butalia, Urvashi, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India*, New Delhi: Penguin India, 1998, pp. 3. see also Pandey, Gyanendra, “The Long Life of Rumor,” *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 2002, pp. 166.

⁴² Major, Andrew J, “‘The Chief Sufferers’: Abduction of Women during the Partition of the Punjab,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 1995, pp. 69.

⁴³ The Constituent Assembly (Legislature) of Pakistan, debates volume I, 1950 13 March to 13 April, 1950, National Assembly of Pakistan, Islamabad, pp. 82.

(Recovery and Restoration) Act which remained in force until 30 September 1957. By 31 October 1952 the numbers of abducted women and children recovered from Pakistan and India stood at 8,326 and 16,545 respectively; by 30 September 1957 they had risen to 10,007 and 25,856.⁴⁴

The two governments had agreed on a common policy and a combined administrative effort regarding victims of abduction. Following one of their joint tours through the most riot-torn districts of the Punjab in early September 1947, Liaquat Ali Khan and Nehru his Indian counterpart, declared that their governments would refuse to condone abductions or recognize the legality of forced marriages and conversions effected after 1 March 1947.⁴⁵ This declaration was ratified by an Inter-Dominion Conference in December which further established recovery procedure. The Central Recovery Offices of both countries were to compile the claims of relatives who had crossed the new border and send lists of names to the opposite side. There the local police were to have the prime responsibility for locating abducted women.⁴⁶

However, the police were to be assisted by District Liaison Officers (DLOs) appointed by the Liaison Agency of the opposite Punjab government to coordinate refugee evacuation, by social workers and by a limited number of 'guides' (relatives of abducted women). District transit camps for recovered women were to be established in both Punjabs with a central camp for non-Muslim women at Lahore

⁴⁴ Major, *The Chief Sufferers...*, pp. 70.

⁴⁵ Rai, Satya Mehta. *Partition of the Punjab: A Study of Its Effects on the Politics and Administration of the Punjab (I) 1947-56*. Vol. 1. Asia Publication House, 1965, pp. 81.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 174.

and a similar camp for Muslim women at Jullundar.⁴⁷ The Indian and Pakistani Military Evacuation Organizations (MEOs), under the command of Brigadier Mohite,⁴⁸ which had been established following the disbandment of the Punjab Boundary Force, were to provide guards in transit camps and escorts for recovered women being transferred to their respective Dominions. More Army, civilian transport and trains were being made available to complete evacuation within the shortest possible time. Special arrangements were being made for the removal of the aged, woman and children also.⁴⁹

Finally, on the Indian side, a steering committee made up of representatives of the various agencies involved would plan and review recovery work.⁵⁰ Due to the unlawful situation in the East Punjab the evacuation of the Muslims was continuing on a large scale. In this regard government of Pakistan was taking immediate steps to open Muslims and non-Muslims refugee's tents at suitable places and the evacuation of the non-Muslim from the West Punjab is being undertaken with the help of military authorities.⁵¹

The government of India had also appointed Indian Military Liaison officers of the rank of major at all districts head quarters in Western Punjab by arrangement with

⁴⁷ Refugees in East Punjab, File No. DO 142/439, TNA, UK, 1947-1948.

⁴⁸ Official report by India's Ministry of Information on population movements, 2 November 1947, File No. DO 133/60, TNA, UK, 1947.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Boundary Commission awards Punjab and Bengal and disturbances arising there from, File No. DO 133/60 and DO 133/61, TNA, UK, 1947.

⁵¹ "Situation in East Punjab still Uneasy" *The Pakistan Times*, 27 August 1947, pp. 3.

the Pakistan authorities.⁵² Till the 30th August 1947 the overall situation in the area of the Punjab Boundary Force can nowhere be described as satisfactory, the situation in that in general there is improvement in the cities, but in the rural areas killing is still going on by both communities.⁵³ The political department also kept a joint list of civil and military European casualties.⁵⁴

4.4 Disturbances in Sargodha Division

At the height of the war of extermination (August and September 1947), when the vast majority of rapes and abductions occurred, mob fury knew no bounds. Consider this account of the attack on the non-Muslim residents of Harnoli,⁵⁵ a rich market town in Mianwali district, in September, more than half the population (being 6000 men and women and children) were massacred and burnt alive. Children were snatched away from their mothers' arms and thrown into the boiling oil. Hundreds of women saved their honour by jumping into wells or throwing themselves into burning houses. Girls of 8 to 10 years of age were raped in the presence of their parents and then put to death mercilessly.⁵⁶

⁵² "Appointment of Indian Military Liaison officers", *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 5 September 1947, pp. 8.

⁵³ "Situation in India", *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 30 August, 1947, pp. 1.

⁵⁴ European casualties in communal riots after transfer of power, File No. DO 142/260, TNA, UK, 1948.

⁵⁵ Harnoli is a town of Mianwali District of Sargodha division. The town is a piece of Piplan Tehsil and is officially subdivided into two Union boards, one for the urban zone and another for the provincial region. It is arranged in South of District Mianwali, Population Census of Pakistan 1961, District Census Report Mianwali, Population Census Organization Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1961, pp. 74.

⁵⁶ Major, Andrew J, "The Chief Sufferers': Abduction of Women during the Partition of the Punjab," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 1995, pp. 57-72.

The breasts of women were cut and they were made to walk all naked in rows of five in the bazaars of Harnoli, Mianwali. About 800 girls and women were abducted and small kiddies were wandering without a cover in the jungles and were kidnapped by the passers-by.⁵⁷ Trains had also been attacked in Mianwali and there was a report about the looting of an entire train on the Khushab-Kundian line somewhere near the Mianwali border.⁵⁸ Muslim fanaticism created a difficult situation in the Soon Valley of Khushab. The two trains were crossing each other near Beas when fire was opened from one train upon the other resultant the 200 persons were reported to killed.⁵⁹

On the other hand Jegender Singh a Police officer, who is nephew of Piara Singh the landlord shot down three Muslims on 14th and 15th March 1947 in the village of Mangwal of Khushab and there was no enquiry conducted for this purpose. Five pass made riffles with ammunition were recovered from a Hindu and two Muslims near Wan Butcheran Railway Station in Mianwali district. Four live bombs and 303 riffle were recovered from Hindu.⁶⁰ The news of atrocities from the East Punjab spread by the evacuees who continued to pour in a the gruesome evidence of massacres in railway trains at Maur, Goniana and Bhatinda living wisdom of which was furnished by the arrival of dead bodies in trains and persons with wounds without discrimination of age or sex seriously deteriorated the communal situation in the West Punjab. There were sudden outbreaks in Gujrat and Jhelum: the situation

⁵⁷ Major, Andrew J, “‘The Chief Sufferers’: Abduction of Women during the Partition of the Punjab,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 1995, pp. 57-72.

⁵⁸ Sir E. Jenkins to Lord Wavell, Government House, Lahore, 17 March 1947, File No. R/3/1/176, The British Library, Kingdom, 1947.

⁵⁹ “200 persons were killed”, *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 7 September 1947, pp. 1.

⁶⁰ Police Abstract of Intelligence for the week ending 23 August 1947, Compiled by National Documentation Wing, Islamabad, 1947, pp. 363.

deteriorated seriously in Montgomery, Sialkot, Gujranwala and Sheikhupura districts and Kaur Sub-Division. Mianwali, Campbellpur, Sargodha, Muzaffargarh and Rawalpindi districts were also affected to a lesser extent. Large scale evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs continued throughout the week and the rail and road traffic being unsafe.⁶¹

The erstwhile peaceful atmosphere in Mianwali district was disturbed by an attempt to hold up a train near *Smandanwala* railway station which was foiled by some policemen and by stray cases of arson and stabbings in the district. In Sargodha district, trouble was reported from Bhera and Padhrar, besides the throwing out of about 22 Hindus and Sikhs from running trains between Malakwal and Sargodha on two different occasions. Some Sikhs too tried to hold up a train near Sillanwali khanwali railway station but failed and resentment was augmented in this district by the injuring of three Muslims by Sikh Military in P. S Silanwali.⁶²

In Mianwali district, trans-border Pathans proved a menace. Encounter by their activities, the local Pathans too pillaged non-Muslim villages, especially in Police Stations Piplan and Harnoli, Mianwali. Panicky non-Muslims at the latter place took up positions and opened indiscriminate firing, injuring two soldiers, despite a Magistrate's efforts. Firing was eventually exchanged by the Magistrate's party and it continued for 36 hours before the non-Muslims gave up. They suffered heavy casualties. An attack on Bhakkar town by a mixed crowd of trans-border and local men was repulsed by the military, resulting in the death of 17 Muslims. 7 non-

⁶¹ Police Abstract of Intelligence for the week ending 30 August 1947, Compiled by National Documentation Wing, Islamabad, 1947, pp. 365.

⁶² Ibid.

Muslims died in the incident. An ineffectual attack on a non-Muslim refugees train was also made near Pai Khel, Mianwali district.⁶³

Very critical situation was averted at Sargodha by the timely arrival of police when Gurkha soldiers entered the local Juma mosque on information that forcible conversions of Hindus were taking place. Muslim mobs looted Hindus houses in Chak Ram Dass, Mehga Jhawarian and Miani in the district. In Miani, they killed 74 non-Muslims including women and children but Police was able to arrest 283 of the attackers and recovered looted property and arms. About 45 non-Muslims moving from Kinderabad to Sargodha were killed en-route.⁶⁴

From Mianwali, a gun with 25 cartridges, a 303 bore revolver with 4 rounds, 18 bottles bomb, two acid bottles and sharp-edged weapons were recovered from Hindus, 8 of whom were arrested.⁶⁵ A sudden attack which appears to have been planned by a heavily armed Muslim mob on Mianwali town was checked after a night long battle of police and military. Fifty Hindus and 12 Muslims were killed and 35 Hindus were injured. In Mianwali district, the Hindu and Sikh concentration at Kalabagh was attacked by Muslims resulting in the death of 8 Hindus and 2 Muslims and injuries to 12 Hindus. A Hindu station Master of Shah Alam, Mianwali district, and his wife were killed and their property looted. A mob attacked the evacuee's camp at Nawan Jandanwala in the same district killing two non-Muslims. Two of the raiders were wounded by the troops opening fire. Armed Muslim mobs raiding Darya

⁶³ Police Abstract of Intelligence for the week ending 13 September 1947, Compiled by National Documentation Wing, Islamabad, 1947, pp. 370.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Khan on two occasions succeeded in killing 84 Hindus but left 24 dead by military and police stationed there. An attempt by a Muslim mob to attack the evacuees' camp at Darya Khan was foiled by police and military firing. About 600 Muslims intending to attack a military special train at Daud Khel railway station in Mianwali district were dispersed by troops. In Sargodha, a mob of 20 Muslims carrying spears killed three Hindus and three Sikhs on their way from Farooqa to Sillanwali. A dozen armed Muslims killed the Head Postmaster at Sodhi, P.S Nowshera district Khushab along with his wife and two minor daughters all of whom had embraced Islam but wanted evacuation. Some armed local *goondas* exchanged shots with a police patrol in Nowshera village without casualties.⁶⁶

Table 4.2

*Statement of Arms and Ammunition Recovered by the Police between March and July 1947 in Sargodha district*⁶⁷

Sr. No	Date	Village, Police Station, district	F.I.R Nos.	Articles recovered	Recovered from
1.	5.5.47	Chak Ganesh, P.S Sahiwal, Sargodha	31	01 Revolver 04 cartridges	Muslim
2.	16.5.47	G.R.P.S Sargodha	49	109 cartridges	Hindu
3.	16.5.47	G.R.P.S Sargodha	48	01 riffle	Hindu
4.	19.5.47	G.R.P.S Kundian	75	40 cartridges	Muslim
				06 revolvers, 02 Pistols, 280 cartridges	
5.	22. 5.47	G.R.P.S Kundian	49		Not Known

⁶⁶ Police Abstract of Intelligence for the week ending 4 October 1947, pp. 391

⁶⁷ Disturbances in the Punjab: 1947, A Compilation of official documents, National Documentation Wings, Islamabad, 1980, pp. 425.

Table 4.2 (continued)

6.	19.5.47	G.R.P.S Kundian	64	04 riffles, 120 cartridges	Sikh
7.	09.6.47	G.R.P.S Kundian	78	01 riffle, 230 rounds	Not known
8.	18.6.47	G.R.P.S Kundian	84	01 riffle, 04 cartridges	Hindu
9.	11.7.47	Khairabad,	5	01 riffle	Muslim
10.	27.7.47	P.S Piplan, Mianwali	25	200 cartridges	Muslim

Source: National Documentation Wing, Islamabad, 1947.

The above table shows that a total of 7 Revolver, 756 cartridges, 2 Pistols and 8 riffles were recovered from the different towns and villages of Sargodha division. Moreover it shows that the mostly weapon was recovered from the district Mianwali. In Sargodha district the weapon was recovered only from two places. After recovering of these weapons from the different communities in Sargodha division it reflects the fewer riots that occurred during the process of migration.⁶⁸

A special report number 25, Part III was marked on 28 April 1947 in Shahpur that a Hindu was injured while handling a bomb. While preparing a bomb a Sikh died on the spot as a result of explosion in the same Shahpur and a special report number 28, Part III was marked on 9 June 1947. A bomb exploded in building which was in dispute. One party had forcibly taken the possession. It was just possible that the bomb had been thrown by the other party was also reported in the special report number 29, Part III on 26 June 1947 at Village *Phularwan* in Shahpur district. In *Chak* No. 155, district Shahpur a special report was marked that two Sikhs were

⁶⁸ Disturbances in the Punjab: 1947, A Compilation of official documents, National Documentation Wings, Islamabad, 1980, pp. 425.

caught red handed while experimenting a hand-made bomb and a special report number 35, Part III was marked on 24 August 1947.⁶⁹

4.5 Social Impact of Refugee's Migration

If the problem of rehabilitation would be taken seriously, then everything as properties, shops, fields and houses were available which were sufficient for the rehabilitation of refugees and this task would have been finished with 2 or 3 years.⁷⁰

The leaders of that time made this noble cause a political one and in spite of rehabilitating the refugees, they started to use them for their own benefits. Partition brought increased opportunities for corruption. These were seized by civil servants who extracted graft, politicians who illegally appropriated evacuee property, and members of local populations who enriched themselves at the expense of refugees. The post independence settlement of refugees and allotment of properties was the root of corruption in Pakistan.⁷¹ Quaid-i-Azam addressed to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 11 August 1947 said bribery and corruption is a poison, we must put that down with an iron and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this assembly to do so.⁷²

In Pakistan, white collar crime started in the 1950s, from settlement of claims of refugees to industrial sanctions and allotment of agriculture land. All these were used

⁶⁹ Disturbances in the Punjab: 1947, A Compilation of official documents, National Documentation Wings, Islamabad, 1980, pp. 426.

⁷⁰ Sibt-e-Hassan, *Pakistan k Tahzibi wa Siyasi Misayal*. Karachi: Maktab-e-Danyal, 2002, pp. 201.

⁷¹ Problems of Refugees in Pakistan, File No. Do 35/8958, TNA, UK, 1960 see also Refugee problem in India and Pakistan File No. DO 35/9001, TNA, UK, 1958.

⁷² The Punjab, A Review of the First Year, August 1947, File No. A-79, Punjab Archives, Lahore, pp. 10.

as mechanics of moneymaking, giving rise to rampant corruption. Considerable amounts of this property were misappropriated in acts of individual, petty, political and gross corruption, for instance, according to one official estimate, around two million acres of abandoned agricultural land were 'unauthorized held' at the exodus of Hindus and Sikhs, and by 1960 more than three billion rupees worth of moveable goods had been 'unearthed' from the 'usurpers'.⁷³

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, on the inaugurating the All-Pakistan Jinnah Memorial Debates vehemently condemned the lust for money to which some of the leaders of public opinion in Pakistan had fallen easy victims, he further stressed the importance of honesty and sincerity in the public life of Pakistan.⁷⁴ Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan Prime Minister NWFP in Pakistan now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa said we must all strive to eradicate corruption, nepotism and other malpractices. There is no place for the slack, inefficient or corrupt officials in Pakistan.⁷⁵

Although corruption in the distribution of evacuee property was pervasive throughout the towns and cities of Pakistan, the Central Record Office, in the Lahore Secretariat, was the epicenter. It was the site of refugees' repeated anger, frustration, and disappointment. Refugees frequently protested outside over alleged corruption by officials. There was almost a riot, for example, on 1 July 1948, when an angry crowd of an estimated 5,000 refugees gathered on the Lower Mall road at the front of

⁷³ Chattha, Ilyas, "Competitions for Resources: Partition's Evacuee Property and the Sustenance of Corruption in Pakistan," *Modern Asian Studies*, 2012, pp. 1184.

⁷⁴ "Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan Speech", *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 18 January 1949, pp. 10.

⁷⁵ "Speech of Quaid-i-Azam", *The Pakistan Times*, 28 August 1947, pp. 5.

the Lahore Secretariat. Police used a *lathi* charge to disperse the refugees who were shouting angrily against the West Punjab government. In some places such as the district of Montgomery (present-day Sahiwal), refugees took out processions to raise their voices against the corruption of officials, in this instance the city magistrate. It was in Montgomery that a new organization was founded known as ‘Anjuman-e-Sada-e-Mazlooman’, with a view to raising refugee concerns against nepotism. In a resolution it urged the West Punjab government to stop nepotism in the allotment of evacuee property by appointing ‘pious’ officials.⁷⁶ The frustration of refugees was sometimes used by ‘radical’ groups to promote their brand of politics. For example, the Ahrars repeatedly accused the West Punjab government of Nawab Mamdot and his ministers of ‘jobbery, nepotism and holding them responsible for corruption and black-marketing’.⁷⁷

Redistribution of evacuee property played in the standardization of debasement in Pakistan. It highlights the plans of illicit assignment, misappropriation, and paints a completely persuading picture regarding the scramble for a large number of rupees worth of relinquished property in the towns and farmland of West Punjab. It demonstrates how government officials, administrators, effective neighborhood notables and venturesome outcast gatherings snatched properties, for the most part by paying off officers accused of dispensing them to approaching exiles, or by using their own contacts. The savage rivalry for assets and enticements for evacuee property empowered the development of a “debasement” talk which not just added to a climate that was impeding to democratic union in the early years of Pakistan's

⁷⁶ The Punjab Police Abstract of Intelligence, Week Ending 20 September 1947, pp. 468–469.

⁷⁷ “Refugees Problem”, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 28 February 1948, pp. 3.

history, additionally defended later military intercession. This not just adds to the exact information of partition and its heritages, additionally makes a critical commitment towards our comprehension of the transitional state in Pakistan.⁷⁸

According to the Secretary of the Pakistan Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation, more than 50 per cent of the abandoned houses and 36 per cent of the shops were illegally occupied by the 'locals' at the time of mass displacements of Hindus and Sikhs to India.⁷⁹ A review of the First Five-Year Plan of the West Punjab government commented that 'out of 2,900 unregistered abandoned factories in the Punjab, 135 were found to be in unauthorized possession'.⁸⁰ Similarly, there were reports that over 1.8 million acres of land, in West Punjab alone, were illegally occupied by 'local residents'. The competition for resources and temptations of evacuee property was not only detrimental to genuine refugee claims and generated conflict between refugees and locals, but also exposed the fissures between the Centre and the provinces. Corruption reports against eight gazette officers in which one Deputy Commissioner and seven other gazette officers were among the eighteen government servants against whom complaints of corruption was formally registered.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Chattha, Ilyas, "Competitions for Resources: Partition's Evacuee Property and the Sustenance of Corruption in Pakistan," *Modern Asian Studies*, 2012, pp. 1182.

⁷⁹ Pakistan Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation, File No. B.50, 20/CF/49, National Documentation Wing, Islamabad, 1949, pp. 8.

⁸⁰ Punjab: A Review of First Five-Years, 1947–1952, File E1-9, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1953, pp. 35-36.

⁸¹ "Corruption reports against eight Gazette", *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 25 January 1949, pp. 1.

In Sargodha district a notification was issued to eject the local person in district Khushab who occupied the evacuee property and also ordered to issue these evacuee properties to refugees. The following evacuee houses which were occupied by the locals had been allotted to refugees as noted against their names and further directed to submit report on the action taken by the S.H.O in a week's time.⁸²

Table 4.3

*Evacuee Houses which were occupied by the Locals in Sargodha division*⁸³

House No.	Owned by	Allotted to
1110/ Naushera, Khushab	Gopal Das	Muhammad Yusaf Shah, Govt. High School Naushera.
65/Naushera, Khushab	Amir Singh son of Mehr Singh	Sardar Ali Mohajir, Vernacular Teacher Govt. High School, Naushera.
978/Naushera, Khushab	Haim Paj Koda.	Muhammad Khan Malik, English Teacher Govt. High School, Maushera.

Source: office of the Settlement and Rehabilitation Office, Sargodha, 1974.

Mumtaz Daultana⁸⁴ was accused of being 'nepotistic'. He apparently allotted the 'biggest flour mill of the subcontinent' to his brother-in-law in Sargodha district, besides allotting a prized evacuee shop on the Mall Road and the Odeon Cinema, in

⁸² Notification No. 1319/SDM, dated 28 June, 1951 from Sub Divisional Magistrate to Deputy Commissioner Shahpur, District Sargodha, File No. 1 Delegation of Power, office of the Settlement and Rehabilitation, Sargodha, 1974.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Mian Mumtaz Daulatana (1916-1995) was a Punjabi government official who upheld the Pakistan Movement in British India, and was the second Chief Minister of West Punjab in Pakistan. Korson, J. Henry, ed. *Contemporary Problems of Pakistan*. Vol. 15. Brill Archive, 1974, pp. 14-19.

Lahore.⁸⁵ During his period as Chief Minister from August 1947 to January 1949 Nawab Mamdot⁸⁶ had acquired an ‘unenviable reputation for corruption involving the allotment of refugee property’.⁸⁷ The charges against Mamdot included the misuse of public office to personally acquire hundreds of acres of prime agricultural land at nominal rates in the district of Montgomery. He was also alleged to have awarded land to his followers and former tenants in order to keep his vote-bank intact. Mamdot was the focus of severe press criticism at the time for his handling of the refugee question. The Pakistan Times, owned by Mian Iftikharuddin, then the Central Minister for Rehabilitation of Refugees, was at the forefront of exposing corruption scandals against the Nawab.⁸⁸

On the other hand, due to these situation or Some 1,500 Muslim refugees from Chamba State applied to return to the State for reasons of health not being used to the heat of the plain. The application was sent to the government of India, which refused to allow them to return because they were alleged to be no room for them in Chamba which had taken in Muslims from other parts of India.⁸⁹ There were several cases of individual refugees returning or trying to return to their homes in the U.P. but the largest numbers of Muslims who had returned or tried to return to India had been

⁸⁵ “Allotment of flour Mill”, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 7 July 1950, pp. 3.

⁸⁶ Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot (1906-1969) was a Pakistani lawmaker from Punjab and a key supporter of the Pakistan Movement in British India. On 15 August 1947, he was selected as the first Chief Minister of West Punjab in Pakistan, Ikram, Sheikh Mohamad. *Indian Muslims and Partition of India*. Atlantic Publishers & Dist, 1995, pp. 279.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation, File No. 262/PMS/48 and 128/CF/48, National Documentaion Wings, Islamabd, 1948, pp. 36–37.

⁸⁹ Between 50,000 and 80,000 refugees had already crossed into India form East Pakistan, among them there were many young persons and infants, Pakistan Refugees, File No. FO 371/178272, TNA, UK, 1964.

failed. Utterly exaggerated statements were made by spokesmen of the government of India to the effect that thousands of Muslims had returned to India because of the treatment they experienced in Pakistan.⁹⁰ About 70,000 refugees registered their names to go back to India as they are worried that the government of Pakistan could not settle them.⁹¹

In Pakistan a special anti-corruption police force with federal responsibilities, the Pakistan Special Police, similar to the Indian Special Police Establishment, was set up in early 1948 by the then Interior Minister, Khwaja Shahabuddin.⁹² On these issues of corruption or nepotism, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah address with the government officer in Chittagong: ‘Those days have gone when the country was ruled by the bureaucracy’.⁹³ And he reminded them that they now served in a ‘people’s government’, telling them: ‘You do not belong to the ruling class; you belong to the servants. Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard of honour integrity, justice and fair play’.⁹⁴

Officers like Additional Deputy Commissioners, Revenue Assistants, even *Tehsildars* and *Naib Tehsildars* were dealing with cases of bogus and fraudulent

⁹⁰ Constituent Assembly (Legislature) of Pakistan Debates, Monday 1 March 1948, File No. D-50 (3), Punjab Archives, 1948, pp. 697.

⁹¹ Refugees in India, File No. DO 142/437 TNA, UK, 1948-1949 see also “Muhajir and Politics”, *Muhajir*, 17 November 1950, pp. 3.

⁹² Gould, William, Taylor C. Sherman, and Sarah Ansari, “The Flux of the Matter: Loyalty, Corruption and the ‘Everyday State’ in the Post-Partition Government Services of India and Pakistan,” *Past & Present*, 2013, pp. 271.

⁹³ Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches as Governor General of Pakistan 1947-1948, Karachi: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2006, pp. 94.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 95.

allotment and passing order but these powers were delegated to the Deputy Commissioners along as Deputy Settlement Commissioners (Lands). Cases of bogus and fraudulent allotments can only be enquired in the by the Chief Settlement Commissioner (Land) and no other officer was competent to deal with these cases.⁹⁵ There were a large number of unscrupulous persons who had secured allotment of evacuee land in the province on the basis of bogus claims and forged *Frade-haqqayat* with the result that the land intended for genuine refugees had been secured fraudulently by others.⁹⁶ A press note was issued warning all those persons, who have got allotments on the basis of interpolated or bogus claims or have got land more than what was actually due to them, to surrender voluntarily such allotments by 1 June 1955.⁹⁷ Moreover, Qari Amir Hussain, Colony Assistant / Chairman of *Tehsil* allotment committee Sargodha, was deciding cases pertaining to the Rehabilitation in the capacity of Assistant Settlement commissioner which beyond to his jurisdictions.⁹⁸

The local officers were to give speedy attention to all complaints brought against the *Patwaris*. All *Patwaris* who had settled their members of families or relations in particular village were to be transferred immediately to circles in a different *Tehsil*. This principle was also to be followed in case of other revenue or rehabilitation staff

⁹⁵ Letter No. 4591-63/5361-R(L) dated 3 September, 1963 from the office of Chief Settlement and Rehabilitation Commissioner, West, Pakistan, Lahore to Colonization Officer, Thal Project Colony, Jauharabad. File No. 1, Delegation of Power, Office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974.

⁹⁶ Summary of the work in connection with resettlement of refugees on land in West Punjab XV, 1 July to 31 December 1955, File No. E-33-1, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1955, pp. 8.

⁹⁷ Summary of the work in connection with resettlement of refugees on land in the Punjab XIV, 1 January to 30 June 1955, File No. E-33, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1955, pp. 5.

⁹⁸ File No. 1, Delegation of Power, Office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974, pp. 294.

like *Tehsildars*, *Naib Tehsildars*, and field *kanungoes*, i.e, such members of this staff as had the member of their families or relation rehabilitated in their *Tehsil* were to be transferred and posted to a different *Tehsil*.⁹⁹

On the other hand the *Patwaris* did not have any record to show what was the total area abandoned by non-Muslims and what area has been allotted to the refugees. This didn't give any idea as to how much land was still available for allotment to the refugees.¹⁰⁰

1. The allotment orders were sometimes not traceable or sometime subsequent entries were found to have been made in them by the interested parties, for instance in the beginning many people obtained allotment orders for a large number of refugees when they in fact did not have those persons with them. Subsequently, to make up the deficiency they had to obtain other refugees and to regularize this they changed the allotment orders or made subsequent entries in them.
2. The refugees were found to have obtained not only an allotment of land but also shop, garden or factory, etc.
3. Families had been split up into small families of two or three persons in order to secure a large number of allotments. Families of people in service or business had been included in those living in the village in order to secure allotment of land for the former as well.
4. Sometimes one brother is found to have obtained allotment at one place for his own family and that of this brother, while the other brother is found to have obtained allotment of land at the other place for himself and for the family of the brother living at the former place.
5. The old Muslim tenants had not been provided for carefully. In some places no land was left for them with the result that they had had to be provided in other estates.

⁹⁹ Pakistan Punjab Refugee Council, Proceedings of the conference of West Punjab Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners on Rehabilitations held on the 22 & 23 June 1948, File No. No. 15462, Punjab Archives, Lahore, pp. 15-22.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

6. The *Patwari* didn't have any list with him to show the old tenants with the result that no checking was done without wasting a great deal of time in going through *Khasra Gridawari* and digging out the names of the old tenants.
7. Checking by the district or rehabilitation staff of the work done by the field staff was very negligible. In many places it was found that not even the field *Kanungos* had cared to check the allotments. The work of allotment had not been given as much seriousness as it deserved. The field staff dealt with this matter as if it was entrusted with the distribution of charities. It gave to whosoever it liked and howsoever it liked.
8. The exact number of the members of the families of the refugees and the fields allotted to them had not been given. On the other hand a group of members like 50 or 100 had been shown to have been allotted 50 or 100 *killas*.
9. It was found that the sphere of duties of the various officers was not quite clear. One officer of the same rank issues an allotment order and another officer of the similar rank issues a cancellation order. This creates confusion among the refugees and devolves party faction when different allotments from different officers for the same land.¹⁰¹

It is further notice that many cases of rehabilitation were re-opened and after re-opening of such cases which were finalized years ago on one pretext or the other serves only to upset economic rehabilitation of the country and to increase the volume of settlement work un-necessarily at a stage when every effort must be directed towards speedy finalization of land settlement. In this context the Chief Settlement Commissioner had viewed with concern this tendency should be used only in glaring cases of fraud or miss-representation i.e. double allotments, impersonation or forged or bogus entitlements. Ordinary cases of miss-calculation of

¹⁰¹ Pakistan Punjab Refugee Council, Proceedings of the conference of West Punjab Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners on Rehabilitations held on the 22 & 23 June 1948, File No. No. 15462, Punjab Archives, Lahore, pp. 15-22.

produce index units or wrong classification of soil and other errors of this nature should not be re-opened.¹⁰²

It had been further notice that claimants who had filed bogus or exaggerated claims or obtained certificates from the Central Record Office, Lahore in respect of Rural Agricultural land, were exploring ways and means through the subordinate staff to remove files partially the forged documents, which were exhibited in their claim cases. To ensure the safety, this record was being kept under lock & key, under the Charge reliable persons.¹⁰³ It is further added that till 1960 the allotment of verified claim is still under process and Noor Muhammad submitted an application for the allotment of Agricultural land in Sargodha district, an area of 4,889 acres of evacuee land was available for allotment in Punjab till 30 January 1960.¹⁰⁴

Complaints had been received that at the time of making allotments under the rehabilitation scheme, refugees were, in some cases, being ejected from lands temporarily allotted to them on the ground that their revenue records had not been received from the Indian Dominion.¹⁰⁵ The following is a case that was still pending

¹⁰² Order No. 1937/SO dated 20 January 1964 File No. 1, Delegation of Power, Office of the Settlement and Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974.

¹⁰³ Letter No. 16978-Admn-Reh/59, dated the, January, 1960 from Secretary Administration to All Commissioners of Divisions in West Pakistan, All Deputy Commissioners & Political Agents in West Pakistan Officer on Special duty, Central Record Office, Lahore, File No. 2, Instructions Files, Office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974 also interview with Makhdoom Shahbaz, District Court, Sargodha, 8 June 2016.

¹⁰⁴ Letter No. 1629-60-R from the office of the Chief Settlement and Rehabilitation on Commissioner, West Pakistan Lahore, dated March, 1960 to The Deputy Commissioner, Shahpur with the subject “ Allotment of urban agricultural land in lieu of verified rural claim-Application of Noor Muhammad and others of district Shahpur. File No. 2, Instructions Files, office of the Settlement and Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974.

¹⁰⁵ Letter No. 5219-R(L), dated 31 May, 1950, from Financial Commissioners, Punjab to Thal Development Officer, Mianwali with the subject of Provisional Permanent Resettlement of Refugees

on 1985 shows that the government machinery mismanaged the work in Sargodha division.

Table 4.4

*Pending Case of Transfer of House in Sargodha till 1985*¹⁰⁶

Particulars	Remarks
Name/Particulars of Refugee	Karam Din son of Gujjar Khan through Faqir Muhammad, Attorney resident of Chak No. 136/SB, Versus 1. D.S.C Sargodha, 2. Sadar Din son of Mauj Din of Sillanwali. 3. Muhammad Shafi son of Masit Ullah deceased represented by Phool Muhammad of House No. 353 Silanwali
Property No.	House No. 318 Block No. 1, Sillanwali Tehsil and district Sargodha
Nature of Case	Transfer of House
Remarks	This Writ Petition has been remanded vide Hon'able High Court Lahore order dated 11.11.1985 for fresh decision after hearing the parties which has been fixed for 21.12.1985 and the concerned parties have been summoned.

Source: office of the Settlement and Rehabilitation Office, Sargodha, 1974.

Moreover, sometime clear demarcation of land is not made at the time of allotment, which leads to disputes and other complications¹⁰⁷ and these disputes and complications lead to further frustration among the newly came refugees. The Deputy Commissioner of Lahore said that certain shops had been allotted to locals

on land-refugees whose revenue records have not been received from the prescribed territory. File No. 5 Instructions file, Office of the Settlement and Rehabilitation, Sargodha, 1974.

¹⁰⁶ Till 1985 there were cases pending related to the settlement of the refugees in Sargodha division, Letter No. 1141-85/PS/MBR(R) from member Board of Revenue, Punjab to All the Additional Commissioners Revenue in Punjab & All the Additional Deputy Commissioners (General) in the Punjab with the subject of "Disposal of Pending Settlement Cases". File No. 3 Instructions File, office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974

¹⁰⁷ Letter No. 7010-R(L), dated 2 August 1950 from Punjab Resettlement & Colonies Department to the Thal Development Officer, Mianwali with the subject of "Rehabilitation Settlement of refugees on land demarcation of allotments on the spot". File No. 5, Instructions file, Office of the Settlement and Rehabilitation, Sargodha, 1974.

whose shops was burnt in the disturbances, but the Rehabilitation Commissioner emphasized that the orders of the government were that no shop should be allotted to a local, even though his shop might burnt, if he had other means of livelihood.¹⁰⁸ The following table is showing Judicial Settlement cases pending till 30.9.1986 in Sargodha.

Table 4.5

*Judicial Settlement Cases Pending till 30.09.1986.*¹⁰⁹

Sr #	Particulars of the case.	No. of Property	Date of Decision	Date of Receipt	Writ No.
1	Abdul Hamid etc. Versus Nasir Ahmad	House No. 67 Block No. 19, Sargodha	12.1.85	13.1.85	60-Civil Appeal of 1983
2.	Barkat Versus Nawaz etc.	House No. 1- S-23-A Block No. 23, Sargodha	15.12.85	8.02.86	265-R 1985
3.	Ghulam Nabi (Deceased) through Abdul Hameed etc. Versus Nazar Mohd etc.	House No. 78 Block No. 3, Sargodha	10.12.86	18.12.86	47-R 1981
4.	Dibar Hussain Versus Kh. Muhammad Shafi	Shop No. 589- 590 of Bhalwal	24.08.86	31.03.86	LPA-411 of 1969
5.	Muhammad Shabbir vs Allah Ditta	House No. 129-128 Silanwali	27.10.85	18.11.85	1208-R of 1975

Source: Office of the Settlement and Rehabilitation Office, Sargodha, 1974.

¹⁰⁸ Pakistan Punjab Refugee Council, Proceedings of the conference of West Punjab Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners on Rehabilitations held on the 17,18 & 19 February 1948, File No. 15461, Punjab Archives, Lahore, pp. 10.

¹⁰⁹ Statement showing the pending Judicial cases in the court of Syed Tahir Ali Shah, additional deputy commissioner(general) / Deputy Settlement Commissioner / Deputy Administrator Sargodha received from the supreme court of Pakistan and Lahore high court, Lahore upto 30.06.1986, Letter No. 1699-C/HC(S), dated 23.10.86 from Additional Deputy Commissioner (General) Deputy Administrator R.P Sargodha to The Commissioner, Sargodha division, Sargodha with the subject Judicial Settlement Cases pending Till 30.09.1986. File No. 3, Instructions File, office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974.

There were also many difficulties faced by the local officer during the settlement of Refugees. There was no control over the refugees leaving the allotted land and going over to the camps. Both the entrance to and the exit from the camps were uncontrolled, with the result that there was a considerable floating population going from district to district, particularly from non-colony areas to the colony districts. The food situation in the refugees camps was also not satisfactory.¹¹⁰ This was creating difficulties for the local officers and was undoing all the rehabilitation so far into the refugee camps should be restricted and nobody should be allowed to enter the camp unless he bears a certificate from any of the districts that he has not been rehabilitated in it. The best way of doing this would be that every refugee should have an identity card on which any offers of rehabilitation, like land, shop, etc., made to the refugee should be entered, and any refugee who declines an offer of any of these items to which he is suited, should not be considered for resettlement in any other district. There should be an identity card for the inmates of the camps also, and the district staff will not offer rehabilitation to anybody who does not possess such a card from the camp.¹¹¹

Difficulties were felt by local officers in verifying the claims of the refugees for allotment of land. There were a very large proportion of non-agriculturists, who

¹¹⁰ Economic Situation in Pakistan, File No. DO 142/603, TNA, UK, 1949 see also Economic Situation (A), Mss Eur F158/517A, 1947-1968, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1947.

¹¹¹ It was a noticed that the camp population of Montgomery had swollen from 40,000 in April, to over one lakh now. The Deputy Commissioner, Multan, similarly pointed out that the Ranghars were concentrating in his camp from all over the neighbouring districts, particularly Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan. He pointed out that there was some political colouring in this move also and the leaders of Ranghars were responsible for this. It was also mentioned by some local officers that the camp staff is generally hostile to the refugees leaving camps and settling on land. They carried on adverse propaganda against resettlement of refugees on land and hampered any efforts on the part of the local officers to disperse the camps. Pakistan Punjab Refugee Council, Proceedings of the conference of West Punjab Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners on Rehabilitations held on the 22 & 23 June 1948, File No. No. 15462, Punjab Archives, Lahore, pp. 1.

pressed the local officers for an allotment, and in support they often bring letters or certificates from M.L.As of their district, but the certificates are found not to have been issued on sufficient grounds. The voter's list of East Punjab was helpful in the verification, but its copies were not available to local officers, and writing to Lahore always entailed a delay. There were, moreover, no voter's list available for the East Punjab States and quite a large number of refugees had come from there.¹¹²

Almost every local officer complained of housing accommodation in the villages. It was pointed out by them that while the non-Muslims had one or two families at the most per square. Now more than 3-5 families were being resettled on this area. There was thus obviously a shortage of house accommodation. The local officers thought that the refugees should be given taccavi for building houses as well; and, unless this was done, it was not possible to compel the refugees to leave the camps and go and settle in villages. It was pointed out by the Deputy Commissioner Sargodha, that the Buildings and Roads Branch was going to be opened in Shahpur for 50,000 souls. He proposed that these huts may be built in the various new *chaks* in the *Thal* area which was going to receive irrigation in near future.¹¹³

Government of Pakistan was doing everything for the economic rehabilitation of the refugees but nothing was being done for their moral and social rehabilitation. It was

¹¹² At the moment there was no provision for punishing those who obtained allotment at more than one place or by fraudulent means. The conference strongly felt that some penal provision was most essential in order to check this evil practice. The local officers considered that quite a good bit of area may become available if those who had obtained taccavi allotment surrendered it. The conference thought that an ordinance or an Act to check this practice may be helpful. Proceedings of the conference held on the 22 & 23 June 1948, pp. 2.

¹¹³ Several local officers pointed out that the share of the produce that the refugees had been able to get, was not sufficient for their maintenance till the next Kharif crop was ready and it may be necessary for Government to sanction taccavi loans for food as well, Proceedings of the conference held on the 22 & 23 June 1948, pp. 3.

generally agreed that some sort of provision should be made for providing or running institutions like schools, *Madarisas*, or Mosques in rural areas. The state records of allotment were also very poor.¹¹⁴ Efforts were being made to complete the work by the stipulated period. Due to shortage of staff in the Settlement Branch, the work could not be completed in time but many cases relating to Urban Properties were still pending.¹¹⁵ These above definitely impacted by different components at social as well as individual levels.

4.6 Conclusion

Muslim fought for independence and after getting their goal they wanted to have more food, more clothing, more houses, but so far as have to be disappointed. The present Punjab of Pakistan covers the 60 per cent of the total area of pre-partition Punjab. For these assets the Punjab had to pay a heavy price, its formal incorporation into the Independent State of Pakistan on 14 August 1947 marked the end a fierce controversy; but it also marked the beginning of what was literally and ordeal of fire and blood for its people. They were denied by the basic necessities of life, no food, no shelter and no securities for life. The award of the Punjab Boundary Commission caused much disappointment. While the Sikhs were blamed for the outrages in the East Punjab, the British were held responsible for having engineered the Sikh rising which resulted in the effusion of Muslim blood. The rioting which was previously confined largely to Lahore spread all over the province. The Khaksars, Ahrars and

¹¹⁴ Pakistan Punjab Refugee Council, Proceedings of the conference of West Punjab Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners on Rehabilitations held on the 22 & 23 June 1948, File No. 15462, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1948, pp. 3-6.

¹¹⁵ Letter No. 82/II.C(S), dated 3.6.86 from Additional Deputy Commissioner/General/ Deputy Administrator, R.P, Sargodha to The Secretary (Settlement) Board of Revenue, Punjab, Lahore with the subject "Auction of Residuary /Rural Urban Evacuee Property". File No. 3, Instructions file, office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974.

disgruntled Muslim Leaguers have been at hand to exploit the prevailing frustration of the Muslim community and efforts have been made to stir up the refugees against the government which is now in office.

The implantation of Muslim refugees at the root level i.e regional level was a lengthy process-involving patterns of settlement, institutional integration, commitment boards, building, ventures of joint council and governmental policies-that gave a semblance to streamline the controversial process of massive migration. In a reply to the cruelties of the Hindus and Sikhs, the Muslims of the West Pakistan also forced the non-Muslims to leave Pakistan. From the East Punjab the majority of the refugees to Sargodha belonged to Jullandar, Ambala, Ludhiana and district Karnal of Ambala Division and these Muslims majority areas affected more during the riots. Tracing the wave of disturbance in Sargodha division i.e. Sargodha, Khushab, Mianwali and Bhakkar led the investigation of settlement of all the sects. Either it was the Muslim refugees from Eastern Punjab who were already miserable and seriously needed to be rescued or it was the case study of local Hindus and Sikhs morning on the pains of Radcliff award.

Drawings on the prediction of various researches if the problem of rehabilitation would be taken seriously, then everything as properties, shops, fields and houses were available which were sufficient for the rehabilitation of refugees and this task would have been finished with two or three years. Partition brought increased opportunities for corruption. These were seized by civil servants who extracted graft, politicians who illegally appropriated evacuee property, and members of local populations who enriched themselves at the expense of refugees. The post

independence settlement of refugees and allotment of properties was the root of corruption in Pakistan. It highlighted the plans of illicit assignment, misappropriation, and paints a completely persuading picture regarding the scramble for a large number of rupees worth of relinquished property in the towns and farmland of West Punjab. More than 50 per cent of the abandoned houses and 36 per cent of the shops were illegally occupied by the 'locals' at the time of mass displacements of Hindus and Sikhs to India. In a nutshell while keeping into account of all the loot and massacre refugees were ultimately shunt into a new envisioned scheme to deprive them from a smooth well claimed settlement by the government officials as well as locals.



CHAPTER FIVE

THE PROCESS OF REHABILITATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF REFUGEES IN SARGODHA DIVISION

5.1 Introduction

The post partition scenario of the thesis contextualizes the local resettlement of refugees that had complex dimensions needed to re-evaluate at regional level. Hence during this curtail formative phase an “informal” system of allocation of resources, confused state mechanism of responsibilities, sheer in adequate linkages of institutional influx. After a massive push of displaced and torn refugees the state of Punjab had to shoulder the tremendous burden of providing shelter and relief for Muslim refugees who were pouring into this province at an average rate of about 50,000 per day. The newly set up governments of Pakistan and India made certain joint and reciprocal arrangements for the evacuation of eleven to twelve millions of people from both sides of the border.

Due to migration, people of both the communities (Muslims and non-Muslims) suffered enormous difficulties and faced cultural threats. The friendly environment of the both communities shifted into hatred. Those who were used to share worries and happiness with each other became the worst rivals and started butchering each other. The burden of migration that Punjab faced is matchless in the history of the refugees. It affected all the segments of life including political, economic, administrative, social, cultural and moral values. Prior to partition, they were generally neglected in making the social, economic and political development. This period was of trial and tribulation. As millions of men and women crossed the border from both sides so, the problem of settlement was of big magnitude. The communal riots marked permanent

imprints on the social and economic setup of the Punjab which finally culminated in acute communal tension. Everywhere, there were the feelings of insecurity in society. The retaliatory policy for incoming refugees further widened the communal gap which arose many tensions.

The migrated people remained deprived of the basic facilities in the Western Punjab as many of them had exhausted all their saving in the migration process from the East Punjab to West Punjab. The refugees of both communities had very limited prospects of employment in the near future. Due to inflation, many of them were compelled to live a life that of a criminal. This immediately resulted in the emergence of a new class of criminals. The refugees became alien in their new surroundings. They were unfamiliar to the places, the physical and geographical environment, the locals and the new relationships. The channels of normal trade dried up; there were no agencies to finance the movement of agricultural produce from the farms to the markets or the factories; the wheels of industry ceased to revolve; wide gaps occurred in the administrative machinery; hospitals lost their doctors and dispensers; and above all, the task of running the canals which supplied the life-blood of agriculture in the province seemed to be hopeless problem.

This case study of Sargodha division has revealed that the previously-acquired technical and industrial skills and capital acquired in East Punjab was an important factor not only in individual refugee rehabilitation, but in the city's rapid post-independence economic growth. The case study material has also highlighted that the partition crisis could not only cut off industries from former markets and raw materials, but could encourage new regional rivals. With respect to agricultural

5.2 Pattern of Settlement in Sargodha Region

Before the sudden migration of people to Sargodha, Hindus and Sikhs lived here peacefully that they sold their utensils (check) and household without any hesitation¹ and when the refugees started to settle here, the Hindus and Sikhs did not started to evacuate² which caused uneasiness and discomfort among refugee.³ Moreover, the Deputy Commissioner Alhaaj Hafiz Ghulam Hassan gave permission to Hindus and Sikhs for taking their buses and trucks with them.⁴ Mr. Richard Symonds who visited Sargodha with the Lady Mountbatten saw in the process of evacuation that the people of Sargodha especially Hindus and Sikhs appreciated the Deputy Commission of Sargodha “Khan Bahadur Sardar Leghari” who made safe evacuation for them. Mr. Richard Symonds said, “The only district town in West Punjab in which they (Hindu and Sikhs) could move about freely”.⁵

The Muslims population of Sargodha wept during the process of evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs as they lived peacefully with them and no Hindu-Muslim conflict

¹ An Unpublished Autobiography of Mufti Tufail Ahmad Govaidi, Mufti Tufail Ahmad Govindi was Gold Medalist of Pakistan Movement, President of District Bar Association of Sargodha, Member of Pakistan Bar council, Chairman of *Anjum Karkunan* Pakistan Movement of Pakistan for Sargodha division, Chairman Ideology Pakistan Trust Sargodha, Central Join Secretary of Muslim League and Member of District and Province peace committee, 2011, pp. 29-30. I am much thankful to advocate Ghulam Ahmad Govindi for providing me a copy of the memoir of his brother and also thankful to advocate Farkhanda Jabeen for cooperating in searching of related material.

² Interview with Sahibzada Abdul Rasool, Officer Colony, Sargodha 12 July 2017 see also Interview with Ghulam Jannat, Bhakkar, 13 June 2016, Interview with Allah Yar, Bhakkar, 13 June 2016 Interview with Muhammad Nawaz, Bhakkar, 13 June 2016 and Interview with Hakeen Hafiz Noor Muhammad Ghahi, Bhakkar, 13 June 2016.

³ Advocate, M. M., *Tehrik-e-Pakistan or Sargodha ki Yadain* (in urdu). Sargodha: Khalid Printing Press, 1984, p. 77.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 90.

⁵ Tour of Lyallpur, Sargodha and Khewra by Deputy High Commissioner, Lahore, File No. DO 142/390, TNA, UK, 1950 see also Symonds, R, *In the Margins of Independence: A Relief Worker in India and Pakistan (1942-1949)*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 51.

arose in the areas.⁶ The violence started to fade in the middle of October 1947 in the Punjab and the situation seemed to improve gradually. When the rail link reopened, the refugees from Delhi started to migrate. There was rare incident of communal violence during December from both sides i.e. East or West Punjab. The main reason of this improvement was that no more non-Muslim left in the West Punjab and no more Muslim left in the East Punjab.⁷

Table 5.1

*Distribution of Refugees by District According to their places of Origin in East Punjab States and other places in India (Figures in thousands)*⁸

District	Shahpur	Mianwali
	(Sargodha & Khushab)	(Mianwali & Bhakkar)
Ferozpur	3.6	0.1
Amritsar	13.1	0.2
Gurdaspur	7.0	0.2
Jullundur	14.4	0.2
Hoshiarpur	16.1	0.2
Kangra	0.5	--
Ludhiana	5.8	0.2

⁶ I have also gone through the different First Information Reports (FIRs) at different *thanas* (police station) in Sargodha like in *thana Sadar*, Sargodha FIR book no. 322 year 1938, book no. 61 year 1939, book no. 8154 year 1945, book no. 1007 year 1952, book no 1667 year 1954 and book no. 19 year, 1959 in thana Sillanwali, Sargodha FIR book no. 1883 year 1945, book no. 1000 year 1946, book no. 1360 year 1947, book no. 1377 year 1947, book no. 1642 year 1949 and book no. 1799 year 1949. Most of the FIRs were related to social crimes i-e theft, snatching, animals stolen etc only few reports related to killings were observed the murder FIRs were also of personal conflicts and not based on terrorism or riots like a murder FIR was marked in partition year 1947 from Allah Yar in *thana Sadar*, Sargodha in book No. 1363, FIR no. 14/13, dated 15.2.1947, the reason behind murder was based on self concerned issues and not on Hindu-Muslim clash another FIR was marked in book No. 1363, FIR no. 22/14 dated 2.3.1947 from Sher khan son of Muhammad Khan due to domestic clashes see also interview with Asif Shahzad Maiken, Babu Mohallah, Sargodha, 26 June 2016.

⁷ Dar, F. A, *Communal Riots in the Punjab 1947*. Islamabad : NIHCR, 2003, pp. 173.

⁸ Statistics of Resettlement of Refugees in West Punjab with the Compliment of the Board of Economic Inquiry, File No. 188, Punjab Archives, 1947, Lahore, pp. 12-13.

Table 5.1 (Continued)

Ambala	40.0	7.8
Simla	0.5	--
Karnal	33.4	35.5
Rohtak	7.9	0.3
Hissar	2.0	1.1
Gurgaon	2.1	1.0
Total E. Punjab districts	146.4	46.8
Total E. Punjab States	43.7	3.8
Alwar	0.2	0.6
Bhattpur	0.1	0.7
Delhi Province	1.5	1.0
U.P	0.6	0.7
Other places in India	0.7	0.7
Jammu and Kashmir	--	--
Grand Total	193.3	54.3

Source: Punjab Archive, Lahore, 1947.

According to the above figure Sargodha & Khushab received 193,300 refugees from different district of the East Punjab and Mianwali and Bhakkar received 54,300 as well. All these refugees kept in the different camps by the government.⁹ The camp to be opened up in all Tehsil Headquarter and small towns all over the province, *Mohalllah* evacuated by non-Muslims being specially reserved for constitution of refugee camps. The maintenance of food supplies is and has been the matter of considerable anxiety for the management of refugees camps for this purpose the government reserve of upwards of 1,10,000 tons of wheat on 15th August.¹⁰ If we

⁹ Interview with Sahibzada Abdul Rasool, Officer Colony, Sargodha 12 July 2017.

¹⁰ A note on Rehabilitation by Muhammad Iftikhar ud-Din, Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation, West Punjab, File No 804, National Archives, Islamabad, 1950, pp. 17-49.

further divided the Muslim refugees according to the urban and rural areas then the figures shows as:-

Table 5.2

*Showing refugees in the West Punjab according to Urban and Rural Areas and Camps, 1947.*¹¹

district	Number of Refugees			Total
	Urban	Rural	Camps	
Shahpur	84361	98554	10504	193419
Mianwali	2429	4960	46922	54311

Source: Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1947.

However, the people continued to move towards the Sargodha Region and in another survey in 1948 by the government of Pakistan revealed that the figures had increased according to the table listed below:-

Table 5.3

*Statistics of Refugees in Sargodha till 1948 (Figure in Thousands)*¹²

district	Receiv ed in district	No. settled in Rural Areas		No. in camp	No. in villages waiting to be resettled	Approximate No. still to be resettled		Total
		On Land	Other wise			On land	Other wise in rural areas	
Shahpur	352.6	81.255	35.1	34.51	118.335	120	20	409.2
Mianwali	67.653	3.047	0.65	60	0	48	4	115.7
Total	420.25	84.302	35.75	94.8	118.335	168	24	524.9

Source: Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1947.

¹¹ Statistics of Resettlement of Refugees in West Punjab with the Compliment of the Board of Economic Inquiry, File No. 188, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1947, pp. 10.

¹² Pakistan Punjab Refugee Council, Proceedings of the conference of West Punjab Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners on Rehabilitations held on the 17, 18 & 19 February 1948, File No. 15461, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1948, pp. 57.

According to the above figure Sargodha division received 524,900 refugees from different district of the East Punjab. On the other hand if we estimated the total people who evacuated the land is as under:-

Table 5.4

*Distribution of Refugees in Rural Area in Sargodha, 1947 (Figures in thousands)*¹³

Districts	Rural Population before Migration	Hindu & Sikh Evacuees from Rural Areas	Urban Population before Migration	Hindu and Sikh Evacuees from Urban Areas
Shahpur	940.8	101.2	158.0	64.0
Mianwali	499.1	53.4	57.7	22.9
Total	1439.9	154.6	215.7	86.9

Source: Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1947.

According to the above figure the total rural and urban population of Sargodha and Mianwali district at the time of partition was 1,439,900 and 215,700 respectively. The resettlement and rehabilitation of refugees created many problems. The occupational structure of non-Muslim in Sargodha was completely divergent to that of the Muslim refugees to Sargodha. In Sargodha, at the time of partition, the total villages that occupied by the non-Muslims were 823 and with the settlement policy, they were settled on the evacuated land left by the Hindus and Sikhs.¹⁴

In Sargodha, institution of *Bait-ul-Mall* “National Treasury Fund” established which was aimed at relieving and helping the refugees in their struggle for living and

¹³ Statistics of Resettlement of Refugees in West Punjab with the Compliment of the Board of Economic Inquiry, File No. 188, Punjab Archives, 1947, Lahore, pp. 14.

¹⁴ Interview with Muhammad Ehsan, Assistant Commissioner Office, Sargodha, 8 June 2016.

survival. People participated in it giving money, commodities and other useful items of household to help refugees. It was distributed in front of Ambala Muslim High School in Block No.3.¹⁵ A fund for refugees was also arranged in Sargodha which was known as “*Mohajirin Fund*”. The local people donated for this fund, thousands of rupees had been collected from shops in the bazaars.¹⁶ The money also gave to the refugee on credit. They also arranged blankets for refugees in the winter season. The Sharif hotel in the *Kachehri Bazar* provided the meal to the refugees free of cost.¹⁷ The following figure shows the Ambala Muslim High School where the household items were given to refugees.



Figure 5.2. Ambala Muslim High School in Sargodha, 2017.

Source:- Researcher's Collections, February 2018.

¹⁵ Advocate, M. M, *Tehrik-e-Pakistan or Sargodha ki Yadain* (in Urdu). Sargodha: Khalid Printing Press, 1984, pp. 97.

¹⁶ Interview with Hakeem Mehmood ul Hassan, Katchery Bazar, Sargodha, 5 June 2016.

¹⁷ An Unpublished Autobiography of Mufti Tufail Ahmad Govaidi, pp. 112.

After the peaceful evacuation of Hindus and Sikh from Sargodha, the refugees settled business in Sargodha, there was a big factory of soap known as *do hunter*, this was allotted to a refugee after the evacuation of non-Muslims from Sargodha, and then its name was changed as *Qanchi Marka*. In the same manner, the shops full of necessary items left by Hindus and Sikhs were given to refugees.¹⁸ On 29 December 1948, the Governor of the West Punjab was appointed Deputy Commissioners, Shahpur with the additional charge as Deputy Rehabilitation Commissioners.¹⁹ For the smooth rehabilitation, a Sub Divisional officer was also appointed in Khushab.²⁰

The Rehabilitation and Settlement work in Sargodha division was assigned to different government officials like that the Sub Divisional Officer (S.D.O) Khushab was assigned the Rehabilitation settlement work of Khushab Tehsil. The revenue assistant was assigned the Rehabilitation settlement work in Bhalwal, Sargodha and Bhaghtanwala, Revenue appellate work to hear appeals against the orders of Assistant Collectors 2nd grade in respect of Bhalwal and Shahpur Tehsils, to be Incharge of Bhalwal Tahsil for checking *girdawari* etc. and work as Assistant Collector 1st grade in respect of Bhalwal Tahsil, Incharge Revenue Record Room including *Kanungo* in Branch, President of Municipal Committee, Miani, Sargodha and Incharge Mela Court of Wards Estate, Sargodha.²¹

¹⁸ Interview with Sahibzada Abdul Rasool, Officer Colony, Sargodha 12 July 2017.

¹⁹ Notification No. 2854 –R (L) dated 5 May 1951, File No. 1, Delegation of Power, Office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974.

²⁰ Notification No. 2857 dated 5 May 1951, File No. 1 Delegation of Power, Office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974.

²¹ Order No. 5409/HVC, File No. 1 Delegation of Power, Office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974.

The colony assistant was assigned the task of Colony work both Urban and Rural in respect of the entire area in which Colony Act is applicable, Rehabilitation Settlement work of Tehsil Sillanwali of Sargodha, Incharge of Sargodha Tehsil for checking *girdawari* etc. and all work as Assistant Collector 1st Grade, to exercise powers of collector under the Restitution of Mortgaged lands Act of 1930, to exercise powers of Collector under the Land Acquisition Act in respect of the entire district and market Committees in the entire district. The Addl Revenue Assistant was assigned the task of rehabilitation settlement work of Shapur Tahsil, to be incharge of *girdawari* etc. and other work as Assistant Collector 1st grade in respect of Shahpur Tehsil and the relief to food suffers and *Panchayat* work would continue to be done by the S.D.O in respect of Khushab, Bhalwal Sargodha and Shahpur Tehsils respectively.²²

5.3 Thal Development Project in Sargodha Region

Thal²³ covers parts of the regions of Sargodha (Khushab Tehsil), Mianwali and Bhakkar Tehsils) and (Muzaffargarh and Kot Adu Tehsils) was first viewed as 1870 km. Thal Irrigation Project was begun in 1939 however suspended in 1942 because of war-time conditions. It was given need quickly after the making of Pakistan and the Thal Canal with a limit of 6,000 cusecs fit for being expanded to 10,000 cusecs and it's Headworks at Jinnah Barrage, Mianwali taking off from the stream Indus

²² Notification No. 2857 dated 5 May 1951, File No. 1 Delegation of Power, Office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974.

²³ The Thal desert is in Punjab, Pakistan. The huge region is situated between the Jhelum and Sindh waterways close to the Pothohar Plateau, with an all-out length from north to south 190 miles. The Thal Development Act, 1949 was set up to accommodate the fast advancement of the zone brought underwater system by the execution of the Project, and for the re-settlement consequently of evacuees and others, Jean Paul, *The Campaner Thal and other Writings*, University Press, Welch, Bigelow and Company, Cambridge, 2018, pp. 1-2

was opened in 1947. The Colonization of Thal was depended in 1949 to the Thal Development Authority (T.D.A) the main self-governing corporation of its kind.²⁴ The following figure shows the irrigation project in shape of canal in Thal area which turned an area of 1,473,000 acre of Thal are into green land. The following figure shows the network of canal in Thal.

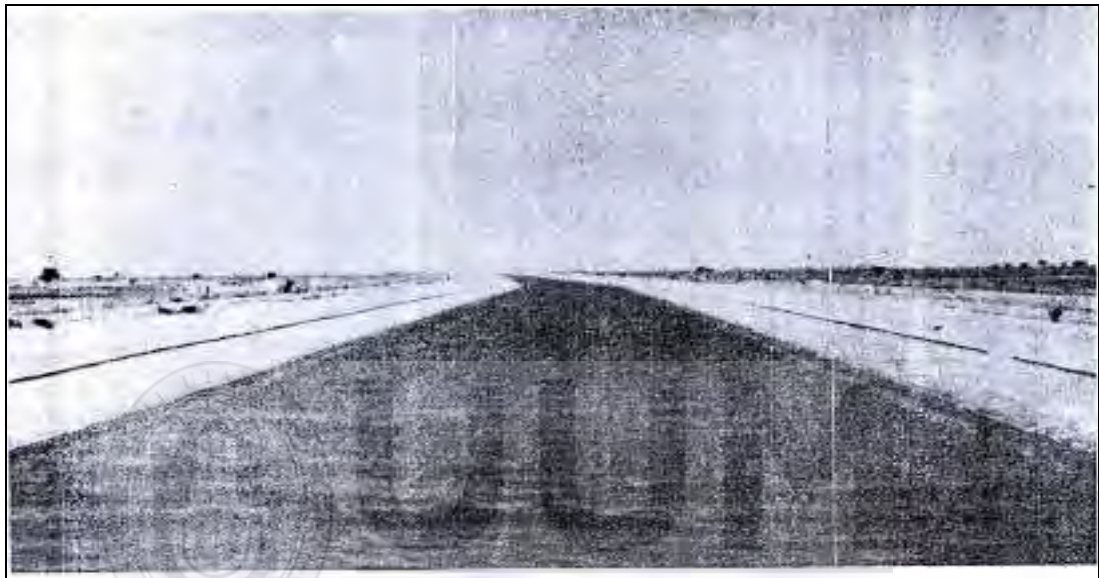


Figure 5.3. Network of Canal in Thal, 1954.

Source:- One of the network canal which turned an area of 1,473,000 acre of Thal are into green land, Pakistan 1953-54, government of Pakistan, 1954, Karachi, pp. 99.

A colonization officer had also been appointed for the Thal Development Colony, Jauharabad, Khushab district under the jurisdiction and control of the Chief Settlement & Rehabilitation Commissioner.²⁵ These on military colonists may also be given the choice to surrender either the land allotted to them in Thal or the land allotted to them against their claims elsewhere or obtained on account of inheritance or purchase. If any of them wished to retain both the land in Thal and elsewhere, then

²⁴ Population Census of Pakistan 1961, District Census Report Mianwali, Population Census Organization Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1961, pp. 17.

²⁵ Notification No. 4757-Admn-Reh/62 dated 8 August 1962, File No.1, Office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974.

he should pay for the land allotted to him in Thal at the rate of Rs. 400/- per acre.²⁶

Till 1948 there were 27,000 refugees in camps. The refugees commissioner was sending 15,000 more out of which 4, 0000 had already arrived. Temporary huts were going to be built in Shahpur for the accommodation of this extra population. There was Crown land available in *Thal*.²⁷

Table 5.5

*Thal Development Officer gave the following figure about the non-Muslims land and the Crown Area*²⁸

Area	Area in Acres
Area abandoned by non-Muslims	135,000
Refugees settled on	34,000
Area of the irrigation boundary being purely <i>Barani</i> ²⁹	84,000

Source: Punjab Archive, Lahore, 1948.

The fundamental capacity of the specialist was to resettle the Thal range incorporated into the Bhakkar Tehsil of Mianwali area and Khushab Tehsil of Sargodha locale.

²⁶ Letter No. L&F-6(E)/69-59, Lahore, dated the 27 July 1960 from The Secretary to Government West Pakistan, Revenue and Rehabilitation Departmental to the Secretary (Colonies), Board of Revenue, West Pakistan, Lahore with the subject “ Grant of proprietary rights to Military Getters in Thal, File No. 2 Instruction, Office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974.

²⁷ Pakistan Punjab Refugee Council, Proceedings of the conference of West Punjab Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners on Rehabilitations held on the 22 & 23 June 1948, File No. 15462, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1948, pp. 11.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Barani mean rainfed zone (The term rainfed horticulture is utilized to depict cultivating rehearses that depend on precipitation for water. It gives a significant part of the sustenance devoured by poor networks in creating nations.). Office for Barani Areas Development (ABAD) was made in May 1978, on the proposals of Punjab Barani Commission Report, by perceiving the need to make a satisfactory and viable association to embrace the testing errand of advancing projects and activities on felt need a premise, Baig, Mirza B., Shabbir A. Shahid, and Gary S. Straquadine, “Making Rainfed Agriculture Sustainable through Environmental Friendly Technologies in Pakistan: A review,” *International Soil and Water Conservation Research*, 2013, pp. 37.

Around 22,000 families were settled in 900 chaks covering a territory of 3,11,000 Acres. Another territory of 3,13,000 sections of land was utilized for impermanent gifts, leases and altogether deal and for basic purposes, i.e., Forests, Gardens, Live-stock Farms and Abadis, and so on. Different High Schools and other open organizations were begun by the Authority for the advantage of open which helped an extraordinary arrangement during the time spent advancement and colonization. Liaquatabad, Iskkandarabad (Daud Khel) and different towns were set up.³⁰ The following figure shows the high school that was opened in Thal area.



Figure 5.4. School at Thal, 1955.

Source:- Thal Project, School at Thal, File No. INF 10/261, TNA, UK, 1955-1964.

The development of Mianwali-Muzaffargarh street gave a monetary improvement of the region, The Sugar Mill at Layyah was greatly affected the economy of this region. The Thal segment of the Mianwali locale halfway lying in the main Thal

³⁰ Population Census of Pakistan 1961 Population Census of Pakistan 1961, District Census Report Mianwali, Population Census Organization Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1961, pp. 19.

Circle and incompletely in second Thal Circle, being secured with high sand ridges and the dirt at places being hard, the Development Authority began in 1954 the work of separating and leveling of land through its Agricultural Machinery Organization. This helped the pilgrims the two refugees and local people moved to this zone from different areas in the previous Punjab Province and furthermore the Thal proprietors in this tract to bring their properties under water system and development.³¹

They would have set aside a long opportunity to fulfill this employment had they been left to their own assets. The pioneers were given credits by the Authority to manufacture houses and buy bullocks so as to empower them to have a decent begin in the laborious leave states of the Thal. Authority with the help rice of the Commonwealth nations, in particular Australia, New Zealand and Canada as hardware, set up a Live-Stock Form in Rakh Ghulaman. The ranch was spread over a range of 15,000 sections of land. The land essentially creates grub and nourishment concentrates for creatures and chickens and furthermore sustenance grains for the men working there. It had also dairy processing plant. The following figure shows the the cattle form in Thal Area of Khushab of Sargodha division.³²

³¹ Population Census of Pakistan 1961, District Census Report Mianwali, Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1961, pp. 17.

³² Ibid.



Figure 5.5. A Cattle Form in Thal Area of district Khushab, 1954.

Source:- Pakistan 1953-54, government of the Pakistan, Pakistan Publication, Karachi, 1954, pp. 215.a

An expansive number of new chaks and residences was set up. Settlement towns and mandis worked at Bhakkar, Liaquatabad, Jauharabad and Quaidabad. The Thal Development Authority was set-up Agricultural homesteads and gardens at different spots; preparing cum generation focuses had been opened for bungalow ventures; new streets, town connect streets and schools. Vast pieces were separated for a forestation and 50 sections of land in each *chak* held for woodland ranches and protect belts had been planted along channels and waterways in this manner making an incredible commitment towards the backwoods abundance of the nation. The region had turned out to be independent in nourishment grains and is additionally addressing the requirements of the deficiency regions in the Province.³³ Till 1961 the Thal of the Bhakkar Tehsil is isolated into two normal divisions, specifically the Thal

³³ Population Census of Pakistan 1961, District Census Report Mianwali, Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1961, pp. 17.

Kalan and the Daggar.³⁴ The following figure shows a Tractor Workshop in Thal Development Area.

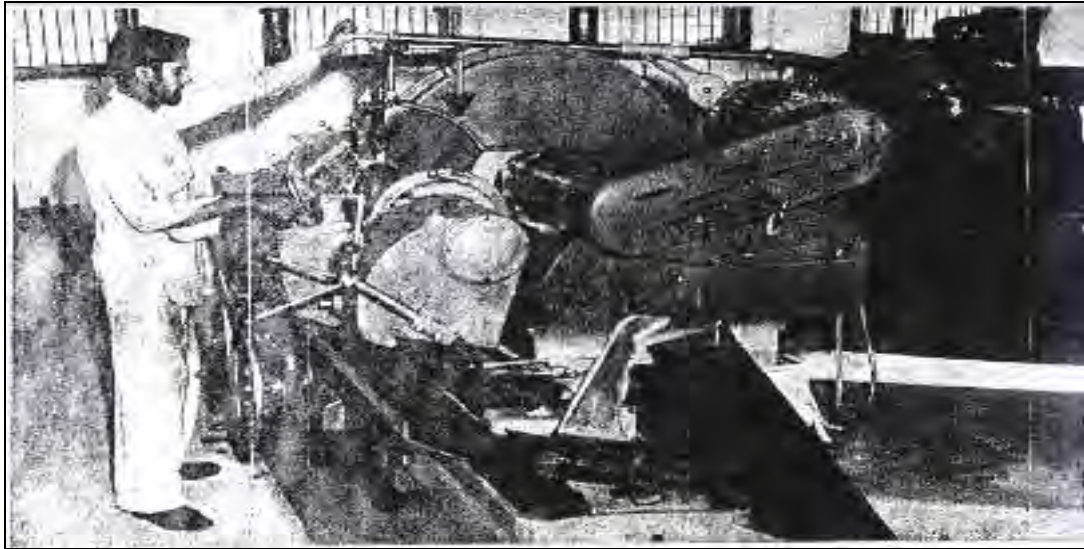


Figure 5.6. A Tractor Workshop in Thal Development Area, 1954.

Source:- Pakistan 1953-54, government of the Pakistan, Pakistan Publication, Karachi, 1964, pp. 215.

5.4 Refugee's Settlement Policies

The survey revealed that 5.5 million Muslim refugees had arrived in the Punjab, representing nearly 28 per cent of the population in the province.³⁵ The immediate concern for the incoming refugees, whether they were urban or rural, was the provision of basic necessities such as food, shelter, clothing and medical attention. By the end of January 1948, the Punjab government of Pakistan had established 75 refugee camps where hundreds of thousands of people were provided with free food, clothing and medical attention until they had been resettled. For the support of

³⁴ Population Census of Pakistan 1961, District Census Report Mianwali, Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1961, pp. 1.

³⁵ Appendix No. 9, The Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation, the Government of Pakistan, File No. B-50, National Documentation Wing, Islamabad, 1950.

refugee, the Refugee Rehabilitation Finance Corporation (RRFC)³⁶ with an authorized capital of Rs. 3 *crores* was set up in 1948.

The newly set up governments of Pakistan and India made certain joint and reciprocal arrangements for the evacuation of eleven to twelve millions of people from both sides of the border. A Military Evacuation Organization (M.E.O) was set up on time, even more than the provincial administration of the Punjab, in an initial stage of reorganization and grievously short of personnel and other resources. The available personnel, however, and everybody else who was called upon to help, including the Pakistan railway employees and officers of the provincial administration, rose heroically to the occasion, making a joint effort with spending results. By rail and road and in the form of foot convoys,³⁷ the bulk of the Muslim population from East Punjab was brought across the frontier within a period of about four months, in spite of interruptions caused by heavy floods and damages to means of communications.³⁸ The following figure shows the movement of refugees in shape of convoy.

³⁶ Pakistan 1953-54, Pakistan Publication, Karachi, pp. 32 see also The Constituent Assembly (Legislature) of Pakistan, debates 23 February to 26 May, 1948, National Assembly of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1948, pp. 363 and Thandi, I. T, *People on the Move: Punjabi Colonia, and Post-Colonial Migration*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 72.

³⁷ Letter from U.K High Commission in India to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Communal disturbance in India, File No. DO 142/24, TNA, UK, 1947.

³⁸ The Punjab, A Review of the First Three Years (August 1947 to August 1950), File No. E1-8, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1950, pp. 2-3.



Figure 5.7. Movement of refugees in shape of convoy, 1947.

Source:- Arriving of Muslims Refugees in Pakistan, The Punjab, A Review of the First Three Years (August 1947 to August 1950), EI -8, Punjab Archives, Lahore, pp. 115.

Both the Muslims and non-Muslims migrated to their destination leaving their moveable and immovable property in Pakistan and India. Movable Property agreement was concluded in June 1950, and the consolidated implementation instructions issued in 1955 provide for the restoration of movable properties like house-hold and personal effects, trade goods and merchandise, seized property including fire-arms, lockers and safe-deposits, postal accounts and certificates, burial treasures, properties of joint stock companies, shares, securities, debentures and insurance policies, revenue record and court deposits abandoned by refugees in either country. The agreement was implemented in respect of most of the items stated above.³⁹ The communal troubles in India and Pakistan created a huge relief problem. The number of refugees for whose survival and resettlement was the responsibility of the two governments i.e India and Pakistan. In this regard the High Commission

³⁹ Pakistan 1962-63, Government of the Pakistan, Pakistan Publication, Karachi, 1964, pp. 92

of United Kingdom in both domains also played her role and contributed in the resettlement of refugees.⁴⁰

In addition to it for the protection of these properties whether moveable or immovable was later called “Evacuee Property”, known in (protection of Evacuee Property) ordinance of 1948 (XVIII of 1948) enforced from 18 October 1948 and the same law was repealed by the Pakistan (Administration of Evacuees Property) Ordinance of 1949 (XV of 1949). After the making of the constitution of Pakistan in 1956, it was necessary to repeal the same act which was further known as the Pakistan (Administration of Evacuee Property) Ordinance of 1956 and after promulgation of this act, the Pakistan (Administration of Evacuee Property) Act XII of 1957 was finally passed and all the “Evacuee Properties” were given under the provisions of Pakistan (Administration of Evacuee Property) Act XII of 1957.⁴¹

In 1956, the government took another step by passing “Displaced Persons (Registration of Claims) Act, 1956” according to which the refugees were directed to file their claims for the immovable properties abandoned by them in India due to communal disturbances. The refugees filed their claims and the Quasi judicial work of verification by claims officers continued in full swing upto the year 1958, in

⁴⁰ India and Pakistan Refugee Relief, File No. T 220/102, TNA, UK, 1948-1949.

⁴¹ Interview with Advocate Malik Ghazanfar Khalid Saeed, Central Record Office, Lahore, 12 July 2016 see also Interview with Advocate Farkhanda Jabeen, District Court Sargodha, 8 June 2016 and Interview with Advocate Shahbaz Bajwa, Shahbaz Bajwa, District Court Sargodha, 8 June 2016.

which year almost all the verification work was completed except few pending cases see also (appendix P).⁴²

Under the guidance of the Pakistan Punjab Joint Refugee Council a scheme was worked out for the implementation of this formula. According to this scheme, those refugees who had ownership or occupancy rights in East Punjab and certain other “prescribed areas” in India would get land of equal “produce-value” out of the evacuee lands, up to 250 acres, with a cut of 5 per cent in their claims above this limit and a maximum of 450 acres. For the implementation of this scheme it was necessary to exchange revenue records between the areas concerned so that the claims of applicants might be properly checked. Voluminous records had to be copied out on both sides. The Punjab received about 16,000 village *jamabandis*⁴³ from India in this connection. Financial Commissioner explained that till the end of 1949 on an average each district in the West Punjab has gotten 700-800 *Jamabandis*.⁴⁴ The entries of these records had to be sorted out and tabulated for purposes of verification of claims. A total number of about 10 *lakh*⁴⁵ refugee land owners registered their claims. The number would have reached the neighborhood of

⁴² Ministry of Law and Labour, Summary No. 15 for the fortnight ending the 15 August 1949, Cabinet Division, File No. 18/CF/49, National Documentation Wing, Islamabad, 1949, pp. 2 see also The Punjab, A Review of the First Three Years (August 1947 to August 1950), File No. E1-8, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1950, pp. 11.

⁴³ Jamabandi is a term used to allude to arrive records in Pakistan and furthermore in India. Jamabandi is Record of Rights (ROR) of a town. The Jamabandi Register contains name of proprietors, region of land, offers of proprietors and different Rights. It additionally demonstrates development, lease and income and different cases payable ashore, Habibullah, Wajahat, and Manoj Ahuja, eds. *Land Reforms in India: Computerisation of Land Records*. Vol. 10. Sage Publications India, 2005, pp. 197.

⁴⁴ File No. 15462, Proceedings of the conference of commissioners, settlement officers and other officers Incharge resettlement on land, held on the 17, 18 & 19 March 1949, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1949, pp. 12.

⁴⁵ One *lakh* is equal to 100 thousands Rupee or 0.1 million.

11 *lakh* by the time the process was completed. The work of verification of their claims was proceeding vigorously. Up to the 30 June 1956, 13,70,388 claim form (including 12,66,393) of the former Punjab were registered in the province, out of these 11,80,876 claim form had been finally settled on a Provisional permanent basis covering an area of 45,37,071 acres of evacuee agriculture land.⁴⁶

For the disposal of Evacuee Property, the government of Pakistan passed an Act on 26 March 1958 which was known as Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Act of 1958 and under this Act the government of Pakistan made various schemes for the settlement of refugees in the whole Pakistan. The Act of Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation)⁴⁷ of 1958 also provided the payment or compensation to the refugees who lost their property in India or any place that occupied by India after 14 August 1947.

“Land Settlement Act, 1958”⁴⁸ was promulgated for the allotment of evacuee agricultural land whether in urban or rural area. “Compensation and Rehabilitating Act, 1958” was promulgated for the allotment of evacuee urban properties to the refugees. The refugees first transferred the property on provisional ground under section 37 of the Act and for this purpose, a PTO (Provisional Transfer Order) issued to the refugees see also (appendix R). After the verification of their claims through

⁴⁶ Summary of the work had done in connection with resettlement of refugees on land in the Punjab, Part XVI, 1 January to 30 June 1956, File No. E-33, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1956, pp. 3 see also summary of the work done in connection with resettlement of refugees on land in the Punjab, part XVII, 1 July to 31 December 1956, File No. 10981, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1956, pp. 04.

⁴⁷ Latif, M., *The Displaced Person (Compensation & Rehabilitation) Act, 1958*. Lahore: Imran Law Book house, 2013.

⁴⁸ Latif, M., *The Displaced Person (Land Settlement) Act, 1958*. Lahore: Imran Law Book house, 2013.

proper channel, the government issued permanent property through a formal deed PTD (Permanent Transfer Deed).⁴⁹

For the agricultural evacuee land, the name of the refugees had been entered in a register called, Register in Form RL/II see also (appendix S). And the same process had been adopted for urban property that claimed for verification sent to Lahore and the government sent it to Indian government. The both governments verified that claim that claimed by the refugees. In the period of verification, the property either urban or rural had been allotted on temporary grounds and after verification; the government allotted the property permanently.⁵⁰ Refugees widows and orphans, other than those whose husband and parents were respectively were killed in disturbances at the time of partition in 1947 had also been allowed for the temporary allotments.⁵¹

The total area of agricultural land owned by Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab was about 66 *lakhs* of acres according to figures collected for certain purposes before partition. Of this nearly *lakhs* of acres were under cultivation, the rest being water logged, thus affected or otherwise too inferior to repay the cost of cultivation. About agricultural land abandoned by Muslims on the other side of the border, it has been

⁴⁹ Interview with Naib Tehsildar Malik Fayyaz Hussain, Office of Naib Tehsildar (Sadar), 15 June 2017.

⁵⁰ Interview with Rana Muhammad Wakeel, Hadali, Khushab, 23 April 2017 see also Interview with Rana Qadir Mehmood, Aadhi Kot, Khushab, 23 April 2017 Interview with Rana Muhammad Umar, Hadali, Khushab, 23 April 2017 and Interview with Malik Ghulam Muhammad, Hadali, Khushab, 23 April 2017.

⁵¹ Summary of the work had done in connection with resettlement of refugees on land in the Punjab, Part XIII, 1 July to 31 December 1954, File No. E-33, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1954, pp. 33 see also File No. 10979, summary of the work done in connection with resettlement of refugees on land in the Punjab, part XIII, 1 January to 30 June 1954, 1954, pp. 32.

estimated that Muslims owned about 45 *lakhs* acres in East Punjab. About five *lakh* acres were abandoned by them in the East Punjab States and some three *lakh* acres in Alwar, Bharatpur and Bikanir, making up an approximate total of 52 *lakh* acres.⁵²

In this initial phase of temporary settlement, about 35 *lakhs* acres of evacuee agricultural land was actually allotted to refugees. The rest remained under the cultivation of old Muslim tenants of evacuee landlords. In addition about 5.36 *lakh* acres (excluding the area in Thal) of crown land were also allotted to refugees. Subsequently, schemes were devised for the resettlement of refugees on land on a semi permanent basis, which would give these uprooted people a sense of security and proper interest in maintaining the fertility of the land on which they were to live in future.

However, the property allotted to refugees issued on the basis of units. It was considered that a person who left his agricultural land in East Punjab was more valued than the agricultural land that allotted to him in West Punjab. To avoid such case, the term "Standard Acre" created and the agricultural land was issued on the basis of "Standard Acre".⁵³ These units gave the approximate value of land which based on the conditions of land that was at the time of settlement of refugees. It was due to the irrigation system, cropping pattern or some other factors such as cost of

⁵² Refugees in India, File No. DO 142/437, TNA, UK, 1948-1949.

⁵³ The 'standard acre' represented a unit of value based on the productivity of land. An acre which could yield ten to eleven maunds of wheat was given the value of sixteen annas and termed one standard acre. The physical area of the 'standard acre' thus varied, and every piece of cultivable land in rural Punjab was given a valuation in annas, so that it could be measured easily in 'standard acre' term, Kudaisya, Gyanesh, and Tan Tai Yong. *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia*, Routledge, 2004, pp. 132.

the production in land etc. So after the great verification, research, sixteen *annas*⁵⁴ of a value was considered as "Standard Acre". In this value, two acres of lands considered as one standard acre. However this "Standard Acre" was different in every district.⁵⁵

It is further directed that the claimants may be provided with land, if land be still available, without distributing settled allottees or claims pending on the 22 December 1960 for land in the estate.⁵⁶ A question was also raised that if a person had submitted a claim and if it had been verified and there was land available there was no reason why he should not be immediately accommodate under the Rehabilitation Settlement Scheme.⁵⁷ The entire procedure of restoration was isolated into two classes of Permanent and temporary measures. Different regulatory measures were embraced to give crisis help and quicken the pace of the resettlement advance. At first, on 27 August 1947, a Refugee Commissioner for Pakistan was designated. Once the size of the exile issue ended up plainly clear, on 5 September the Ministry of Rehabilitation was set up at the Center,⁵⁸ reverberated by the production of another division of rehabilitation in the Punjab, with many specific organizations

⁵⁴ An acre which could yield ten to eleven maunds of wheat was given the value of sixteen annas and termed one standard acre, Kudaisya, Gyanesh, and Tan Tai Yong. *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia*, Routledge, 2004, pp. 132.

⁵⁵ Letter No. 236-61/638-R(P) from Chief Settlement and Rehabilitation Commissioner, West Pakistan to The Colonization Officer, Thal Project Colony, Jauharabad with the subject "Produce Index Units of Hoshiarpur Tehsil of that district, File No. 2, Instructions file, Office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Summary of the work done in connection with the settlement of refugees on land in Punjab, Part V, File No. ZA-31 & 10961, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1951, pp. 2.

⁵⁸ The Punjab, A Review of the First Year, August 1947, File No. A-79, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1947, pp. 158.

staffed by several both perpetual and brief representatives. The whole authoritative exercise of recovery was separated into three classes of leaders: Rehabilitation Commissioner; Financial Commissioner Revenue; and Rehabilitation Commissioner for Industries and Director of Industries.⁵⁹

With these administrative problems, the problem of their settlement, clothing, feeding and rehabilitation was also a big task for the nascent government of Pakistan. The government was not established properly at that time. For swift settlement of refugees, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah also supervised the arrangements. Camps were organized in every district to facilitate the refugees which provided clothes and food etc. as they came in.⁶⁰ The local population also provided eased by providing them every facility which they could provide.⁶¹

To handle the refugees issue of rehabilitation, the rehabilitation programme comprise in the fundamental of two components: the settlement of cases emerging out of the exchange of exactly ten million individuals to Pakistan at the time of partition and the arrangement of safe house for the individuals who either have none at all or out a hopeless reality in the shanty states which distort and disrespect a significant number of the huge urban regions of West Pakistan. The initial step of this program included a fantastic fourfold errand, first, the enrollment of cases for remuneration as either

⁵⁹ A Note on the work done by the Punjab Government, Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation, 128 CF/48/, National Documentation Wing, Islamabad, 1948, pp. 14.

⁶⁰ Interview with Aflatoon, Hadali, Khushab, 23 April 2017 see also Interview with Bahawal Khan, Aadhi Kot, Khushab, 23 April 2017 and Interview with Nisar Fatima, Bhakkar, 13 June 2016.

⁶¹ Interview with Mian Ahmad Bakhsh, Chak No. 30 NB, Sargodha, 15 February 2018 see also Interview with Sheik Khalid, Chak No. 30 NB, Sargodha, 15 February 2018, Interview with Rana Muhammad Sarwar, Chak No. 30 NB, Sargodha, 15 February 2018 and Interview with Rana Muhammad Aslam, Chak No. 30 NB, Sargodha, 15 February 2018.

undaunted evacuee property or money. Thirdly, the assessment of the property left India by the refugees who fled to Pakistan and fourthly, the genuine settlement of cases inside the points of confinement uncovered by the third stage.⁶²

The Ministry of Refugee Rehabilitation with the help of the ICA and Ford Foundation, had verified the administrations of M/S Doxiadis Associates,⁶³ Consulting Engineers and Town Planners from Athens, and was executing the model pilot lodging venture. Other than these quarters, different pleasantries, for example, 21 essential and auxiliary schools, a 250 bed emergency clinic, wellbeing focuses, markets and shops would be accommodated the occupants. 2000 plots of 200 sq yards each were additionally being created for those how need to manufacture their very own homes. The whole undertaking was probably going to cost about R. 85.8 million. The inexact consumption by method for imported materials is 5 million dollars. ICA has consented to meet the outside use and to discharge Rs. 50 million from their Counter Part Funds for the main period of the plan. The entire venture is probably going to take 2 years more to finish. The ministry of Rehabilitation was built up a pre-focused on solid item Factory for large scale manufacturing of pre focused on material boards. Government had orchestrated the administrations of a

⁶² Commonwealth Relation Office, Problem of Refugees in Pakistan, File No. DO 35/8958, The National Archives, United Kingdom, 1958-1960.

⁶³ Doxiadis Associates was established in 1951 by the prominent engineer Constantinos A. Doxiadis. Since its foundation, the firm has developed from a little gathering of draftsmen and architects to an expansive counseling association of global extension. Its exercises range the entire range of advancement, with extraordinary accentuation on tending to the issues of human settlements. <http://www.doxiadis.com/page.php?id=1> retrieved on 21 February 2019.

Canadian Consultant Engineers for a time of 4 months in the primary occurrence under the Technical Assistant program to exhort on the task.⁶⁴

A speech was made in British parliament stated that:-

“I believe that the most cheerful relations will manage among India and Pakistan and alternate individuals from the British Common wealth. The relationship which had for such a long time subsisted between the Crown and the Ruling Princes of India has unavoidably additionally changed. I recognize with appreciation the steadfastness and dedication of the Indian Rulers to Myself and to My Royal forerunners and I trust that in relationship with India or Pakistan their ties with the Commonwealth will persevere I am grieved at the grave disorders now occurring in India and Pakistan. My sympathy goes out to the governments and peoples of both Dominions in their present troubles and especially to the refugees seeking new homes”.⁶⁵

For nursing the sick and wondering refugees, volunteer women became ready on a large scale. American and British relief agencies and a branch of the Red Cross⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Problems of Refugees in Pakistan, File No. Do 35/8958, TNA, UK, 1960 see also Refugee problem in India and Pakistan File No. DO 35/9001, TNA, UK, 1958.

⁶⁵ <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1947-10-20/debates/497afead-3e67-47d8-94ad-729486c7ce0/HisMajestySMostGraciousSpeech?highlight=pakistan%20refugees#contribution-8e0d5d77882-4898-836f-31ad2f270561> retrieved on 20 February 2019.

⁶⁶ Christian missionaries impacted Indian society both spiritually and religiously in a consequential and significant manner during early 19th Century. In 1813 the British East India Company lifted restraints on Christian missionary work in India, thus setting into motion an aggressive campaign of Christian missionary schools- an important tool for the application of Christianity and imperial ideologies. It is important to notice that Christian missionaries worked in collaboration with schools and hospitals; there are many examples that clearly exhibit that Christians made Churches along with hospitals and schools. They worked in British colonies by progressively investing in Public sectors. India being a British colony suffered greatly by the First World War in 1914, India had no association for providing relief services to the influenced warriors, with the exception of a part of the St. John Ambulance Association and by a Joint Committee of the British Red Cross. A bill to comprise the Indian Red Cross Society, Independent of the British Red Cross, was presented in the Indian Legislative Council on third March 1920 by Sir Claude Hill, individual from the Viceroy's Executive Council who was likewise Chairman of the Joint war Committee in India. The Bill was passed on 17 March 1920 and progressed toward becoming Act XV of 1920 with the consent of the Governor

were also organized. As violence spread over the Indian sub-continent, the Red Cross got solicitations for restorative help and gear from the two India and Pakistan. The Pakistan government looked for attendants and specialists for field clinics, while the Indian government, appealed for emergency items and supplies through the Indian Red Cross.⁶⁷

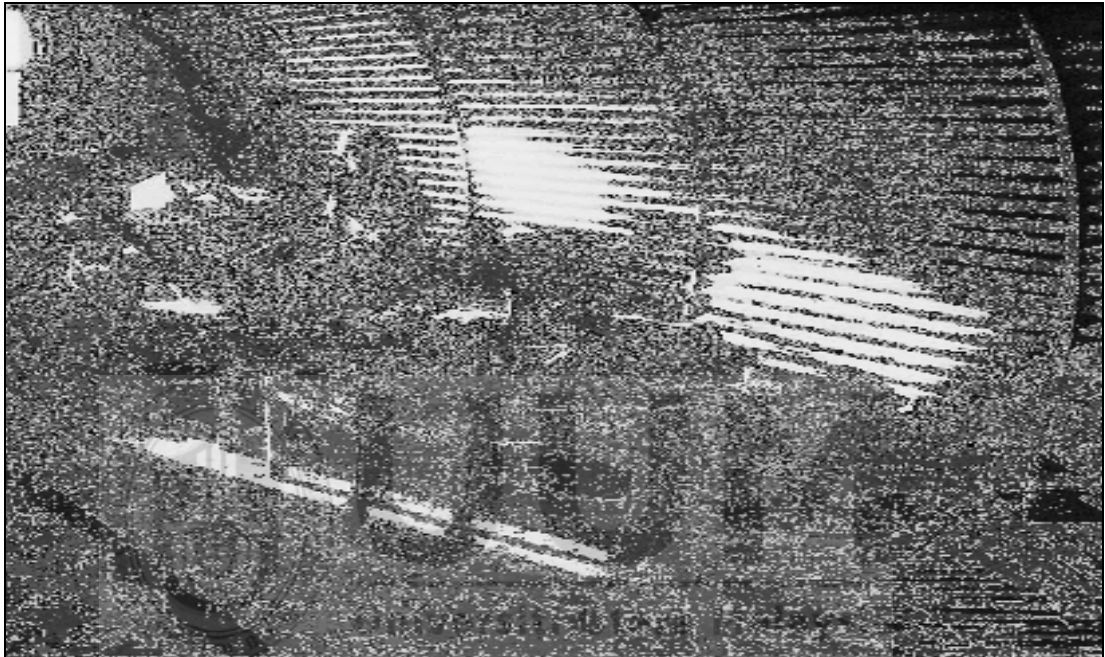


Figure 5.8. A hospital set up to treat refugees arriving in Pakistan by the British Red Cross, 1947.

Source:- <http://blogs.redcross.org.uk/international/2017/08/india-partition-looking-back-red-cross-response-refugee-crisis/> retrieved on 21 February 2019.

The two nations approached the Red Cross for quick supplies of blood, plasma and sulpha medications to battle cholera and looseness of the bowels scourges, just as penicillin for septic conditions and nutrients for ailing health. While staying nonpartisan and autonomous, the Red Cross did what it could to facilitate the

General on the 20 March 1920 <http://www.indianredcross.org/origin.htm> retrieved on 21 February 2019.

⁶⁷ <http://blogs.redcross.org.uk/international/2017/08/india-partition-looking-back-red-cross-response-refugee-crisis/> retrieved on 21 February 2019.

enduring of great many refugees crosswise over the two nations. The British Red Cross spent £20,000 of its own finances to relief the refugees in Pakistan as well as India.

A Red Cross emergency clinic was built up in Lahore with a 400-bed capacity. At a similar time, £25,000 was given to the Indian Red Cross, alongside 12 ambulances and other medicinal gear. In the UK, the Red Cross started a drive to select restorative and managerial staff, offering need to the individuals who had just served in India with experience of the traditions, individuals and dialects.⁶⁸

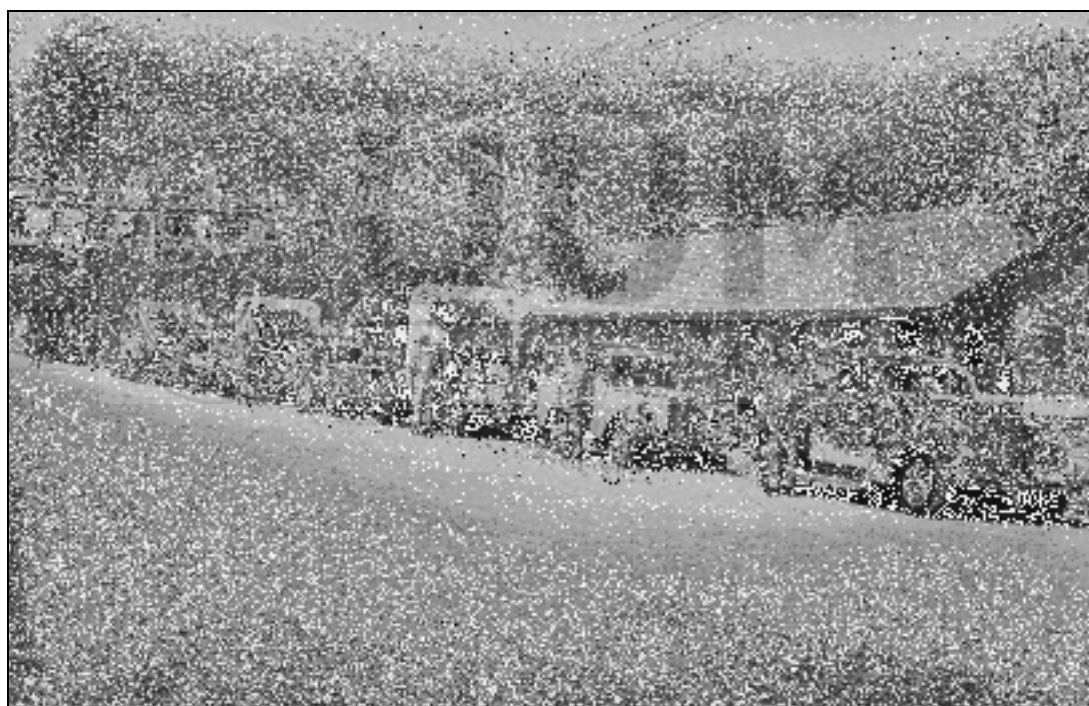


Figure 5.9. Ambulances donated by the British Red Cross following the partition of India, 1947.

Source:- <http://blogs.redcross.org.uk/international/2017/08/india-partition-looking-back-red-cross-response-refugee-crisis/> retrieved on 21 February 2019.

⁶⁸ [https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1947-12-18/debates/18b31b7b-668b-4b13-b8e0-7999e5ab90a/IndiaAndPakistan\(RefugeesReliefMeasures\)](https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1947-12-18/debates/18b31b7b-668b-4b13-b8e0-7999e5ab90a/IndiaAndPakistan(RefugeesReliefMeasures)) retrieved on 21 February 2019.

Keeping in view the damages of violence due to partition of India, Quaid-i-Azam requested to Prime Minister Attlee for assistance in handling partition violence and the response of Prime Minister Attlee of United Kingdom is as follow.

“I am reluctant to transmit your message to the Prime Ministers of other Dominions I can think of no step which we could take from outside which would not be more likely to accentuate rather than diminish friction between the two Dominions and so endanger still further the prospects of speedy pacification. In any event your message if repeated would have to go to all, repeat all, Dominions and I should want it to be accompanied by this message”⁶⁹

The Mian Amir-ud-Din teymor of Lahore launched a relief fund known as Mayor of Lahore's Fund for the rehabilitation of refugees. The Chief Minister of the Punjab Khan Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot and Mian Mumtaz Daultana also contributed Rs. 500 to this relief fund. A sum of 12.5 million and 80 million rupees for the development and loan had been issued to Punjab government by the central government. For the accommodation of 80,000 refugees, 42 satellite towns were built. To establish the business for the refugees, tax for rehabilitation and credit agencies were also opened.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Telegram informing Commonwealth leaders of Attlee's response to requests from Jinnah for assistance in handling partition violence File No. PREM 8/584, TNA, UK, 1947.

⁷⁰ Rehabilitation resettlement scheme and instruction issued there under, File No. 11611, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1952, pp. 44-55.

5.5 Ministry of Refugees Rehabilitation and Settlement

For the proper rehabilitation of these refugees from East Punjab, a Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation was established in September 1947 and on 19 September 1947, after one month approximately from the independence, Iftikhar-Ud-Din appointed as Refugees Minister in the West Punjab and the government of Pakistan also launched emergency committee. The Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan also shifted his headquarters to Lahore temporarily for the better supervision of the provincial administration for the settlement of the refugee problems and Quaid-i-Azam paid many visits to the refugee camps and made many directions for their rehabilitation.⁷¹ The strain and stress of the events in those days and the working of twenty four hours impaired the health of Quaid-i-Azam and the Liaquat Ali Khan. But these minor problems could not make any hurdles to minimize the passion of these leaders. At Lahore, for speedily settlement of the refugees, a special officer had been appointed in the Rehabilitation Department on 4 November 1947 and it was directed to made direct contact with the authorities of districts in the province.

This officer collected the figures regarding the arrival of refugees on forth nightly basis to check the consumption of refugees that these districts could be absorbed.⁷² In October 1947, the Pakistan Punjab Refugee Council was established for the proper rehabilitation of the refugees. This council was headed by the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and the Chief Minister, Governor and Refugee ministers for rehabilitation were the members of this council and after its proper working in Punjab, the same

⁷¹ Refugees in Pakistan, File No. DO 142/438, TNA, UK, 1948-1949.

⁷² "Refugees Problems", *Manchester Guardian*, 8 November 1948, pp. 3.

joint council was established in Sindh and NWPF (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). A wide variety of subjects were taken by the Pakistan Punjab refugee Council which was handled by a joint secretariat. For the protection of evacuated property which left by the non-Muslims in West Punjab, legislative measures had been made. Custodian's rehabilitation commissioners of evacuee property were appointed.⁷³ They worked on a lot of subjects like administration of the refugee camps, principles made for allocation of evacuated land included houses, industries, agricultural land, shops, cinemas etc, arrangements had been made for smooth life in the province through the provision of consumer goods, functioning of roads and rail services, revival of trade and banking system and arrangements made for the recovery of abducted women, for the proper transfer of prisoners from the both sides, received deposits and provident funds, arrangements for the protection of sacred places and for the innumerable matters included the proper exchange of populations were tackling.⁷⁴

Quaid-i-Azam himself was very conscious about the problems of refugees. He made a speech on 11 October 1947 to the Naval, Military and Air Force officers of Pakistan in Karachi as the clutters in the Punjab have gotten their wake the goliath issue of the recovery of a large number of dislodged people. This will impose our energies and assets to the most extreme degree. It has made the troubles inalienable in the working of another state; I alluded to prior, complex. Are we going to enable ourselves to be overpowered by the hugeness of the undertaking that is standing up

⁷³ Evacuee Property, Proceedings and other papers relating to joint refugee and rehabilitation council, File No. 803, National Archives, Islamabad, pp. 55.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

to us and let our new-conceived state fonder under the remorseless and devious passes up our adversaries?⁷⁵

Efforts were made to settle the refugees by allotting houses, shops, business, factories and land. In the Punjab refugees from the agreed areas were given maintenance allowances. The total amount spent for refugees rehabilitation by the Central government during the year 1949-50 is Rs. 24,36,600.⁷⁶ Government was of opinion that for the accommodation and rehabilitation of refugees from the Indian Dominion immediate steps be taken by the government of Pakistan. Government built 5,000 houses at a convenient place, built 500 shops and gave advance loan for business purpose.⁷⁷

It seems that all the action plan, institutions and legislative measures were employed to Punjab because Punjab alone accommodated nearly three-quarters refugees and it was because that most of the violence occurred in Punjab which focused the attention of the two governments. The Refugee commissioner claimed on July 1948 that Sindh had received only 30,000 refugees from West Punjab⁷⁸ out of 3,00,000 which had been agreed to be accommodate, while NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) received only 30,000 out of 2, 00,000 that was an agreed figure and Refugee commissioner

⁷⁵ Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches as Governor General of Pakistan 1947-1948, Karachi: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2006, pp. 32.

⁷⁶ The Constituent Assembly (Legislature) of Pakistan, Debates Volume I, 1950, 13 March to 13 April, 1950, National Assembly of Pakistan, Islamabad, pp. 224 see also *Dawn*, 22 March, 1950, pp. 1.

⁷⁷ Constituent Assembly (Legislature) of Pakistan Debates, Monday 1 March 1948, File No. D-50, Punjab Archives, 1948, pp. 704.

⁷⁸ Interview with Muhammad Gulazar, Rang Pur, Khusahb, 23 April, 2017, Muhammad Gulzar was first shifted to Sindh and then due to settlement policy he settled at Sargodha division.

also proposed that the refugees who were in excess of their quota then the West Punjab pay for rehabilitation of those refugees. Less than a year, Punjab settled a total of 46,43,000 refugee out of 52,84,000 refugees. It showed that the two governments in Karachi and Lahore actually adopted migration as an official policy.⁷⁹

To evaluate the property from both sides for the record of property that evacuated on each side, legislation of evacuee properties was applied and for the arrangement of moveable property, many meetings and conferences were held during one year i.e. 1947 to 1948 between two governments of India and Pakistan. Finally the agreement was taken for the moveable and immoveable property in urban area and for the agricultural land in inter-Dominion at a conference which was held in January, 1949 in Karachi. The agreement covered the agriculture land in West Pakistan on one side and for the government of India, East Punjab, Alwar, Delhi, Patiala, Himachal Pradesh, the East Punjab States Union, the states of Bharat and Bikaner. For immovable property, urban areas were extended to include four northern districts of the United Provinces, Ajmer-Marwar, the Rajashtan Union and some other states such as Jaipur, Dholpur and Jodhpur. These all areas later came to know as “agreed areas”. These above mentioned area had led to mass migration due to disturbance in them.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Statistics of Resettlement of Refugees in West Punjab with the Compliment of the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, File No. 188, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1948, pp. 12-13.

⁸⁰ Treatment of Evacuee Property and Exchange of lands etc, File No. 29/XF/48-II, National Documentation Wing, Islamabad, 1948, pp. 50 see also Dube, Pankhuree R, “Partition Historiography,” *Historian*, 2015, pp. 55.

It was decided on 10 October 1947 to organize an organization to register the claims regarding properties that refugees abandoned in the East Punjab. The government issued a press note and said that we could not accept any liability if the property that lost by the refugees in East Pakistan if it could not be brought under the notice of government as soon as possible. A Registrar of Claims had been appointed in the Rehabilitation Department and he received the claims through Deputy Commissioner of the district. Finally, for the Protection of Evacuee Property and Rehabilitation of refugees, the Act of 1958 for the displaced persons (compensation and rehabilitation) was passed.

Government consider that the houses and residential sites in some villages *abadis* may not be sufficient to meet the requirements of the refugee population and others who have allotments of land in the village or were otherwise essential to the village community. In order to provide accommodation for them, and for further requirements it was necessary to set apart sufficient evacuee area in or near the existing village *abadi* and making new model village. It was therefore, requested that when making provisional permanent allotment in a village, sufficient areas would be reserved in or near each village *abadi* which needs extension, taking into consideration not only the immediate but the future requirements as well. The areas so reserved should be shown in the *Fard Taqsim* and plan of the estate.⁸¹ The following figure shows a New Town that was built in district Khushab.

⁸¹ Summary of the work done in connection with the resettlement of Refugees on land in Punjab, Part V, File No. ZA-31 & 10961, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1951, pp. 1 see also Letter No. 3964-R(L), dated 17 April 1950 from Resettlement & Colonies, Department to The Thal Development Officer, Mianwali with the subject of Expansion of village *abadis*-allocation of abandoned land regarding. File No. 5, Instructions file, Office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974.



Figure 5.10 A New town builds in Khushab, 1950.

Source:- West Punjab year book, File No. A-80, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1950, pp. 36.

The government of Pakistan tried its best to rehabilitate the refugees in their same professions as they belonged to in East Punjab. In this regard, the Refugee Rehabilitation Finance Corporation (RRFC) was established in 1953 (provided with loans for the establishing of their business such as industries etc.⁸² On the other hand, in rural areas, the rehabilitation of refugees was more successful because it immediately allotted the agricultural land on permanent or semi-permanent basis. The refugees were also rehabilitated under '*Guzara Scheme*'. The persons, who desire to get provisional permanent allotment in a village other than where they hold temporary allotments, were to be treated as non-allottees. It was, however, anticipated that some of them may change their mind and may like to be settled in the villages where they hold temporary allotments. In order that there may be no delay in settling the claims of such refugees, it was decided to verify and return all the claim forms of the allottees of a village. The person who desire allotments in the

⁸² Thandi, *People on the Move...*, pp. 72.

same village where they hold temporary allotments and the remaining claim forms together which the copies of the naqal fard-i-haoyiat were kept in safe custody till the provisional permanent resettlement of non-allottees.⁸³

Previously it was agreed that Sind would taken two *Lakh*, N.W.F.P, one *Lakh*, Baluchistan fifty thousands and Bahawalpur State fifty thousands, but only one *lakh* has actually been taken by them. Another 3 *lakhs* can easily be taken away from the West Punjab. A directive issued that each province should at least absorb as many refugees as had left each province. According to the weekly statement 37.1 *lakh* persons have been absorbed in rural areas up to the week ending 29 May 1948 out of which 31.7 *lakh* had been agriculturists and 5.4 *lakh* non-agriculturists. Very few non-agriculturists had been resettled on professions other than agriculture in rural areas. It can, therefore, safely be assumed that about 36 *lakh* persons had been placed on land, presuming the distribution of one acre per person the balance area available for resettlement comes to 4.3 *lakh* acres was still available for resettlement. Although the figure was encouraging the fact of the matter was not so. This area was mostly the inferior area in canal irrigated tracts or the *barani* area of Rawalpindi and Mianwali districts, or the border areas in Sialkot and Lahore districts and similar other areas which are not attractive to refugees on account of either lack of fertility, irrigation, facilities or situation.⁸⁴

⁸³ Letter No. 193-R(L) dated 10 January, 1950 from Resettlement & Colonies Department to The Extra Assistant Settlement Officer, Incharge Settlement Shahpur. File No. 5 Instructions file, Office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha, 1974.

⁸⁴ Pakistan Punjab Refugee Council, Proceedings of the conference of West Punjab Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners on Rehabilitations held on the 22 & 23 June 1948, File No. 15462, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1948, pp. xvii.

The responsibility for the relief and rehabilitation of the vast mass of uprooted humanity that poured into the Punjab fell mainly on the provincial administration. In the absence of any preparations for it, committees and volunteer organizations, led by officials, came into being on the spur of the moment to receive the refugees, give them temporary shelter; food and medical aid in hastily improvised refugee camps and arrange their quick dispersal into the interior so as to make room for others. In October 1947, these organizations were consolidated into a Refugee and Rehabilitation Department which worked under the directions of a Joint Refugee Council, representing the Central as well as the Provincial government.⁸⁵ The latter had to tackle at the same time a host of other serious problems connected with the revival of the economic life of the province and the maintenance of essential services in working order. Some of the most important tasks to be immediately attended to the timely resumption of agricultural operations in the province, which had been seriously affected by the exodus of non-Muslim farmers and peasants and maintenance of the canal irrigation system in working order (the new province had inherited about two thirds of the total canal system of the pre-partition Punjab, but only about one-fourth of the technical personnel needed to run it. The following figure shows that the Fatima Jinnah (sister of Quaid-i-Azam) with local Muslim women was arranging clothes for upcoming refugees.

⁸⁵ Refugees in West Punjab, File No. DO 142/440, TNA, UK, 1947-1948.

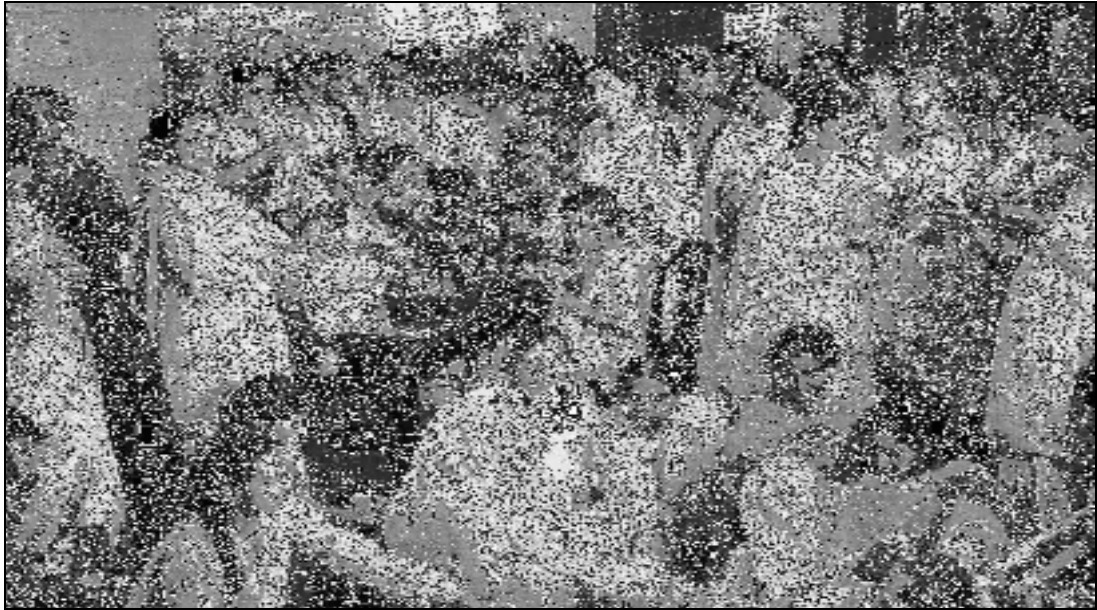


Figure 5.11 Fatima Jinnah with local Muslim women was arranging clothes for upcoming refugees, 1947.

Source:- The Punjab, A Review of the First Year, August 1947, File No. A-79, Punjab Archives, Lahore, pp. 93.

5.6 Urban Settlement

In the urban areas a satisfactory solution of the problem of resettlement of refugees was hampered by two special difficulties. One was that in the absence of any agreement with the Indian authorities on this point no plan of a semi-permanent disposal of evacuee property could be devised in the Punjab and allotments to refugees still continue to be on a temporary basis. Because of this it was not possible to create a sense of security among the refugees or sufficient interest among them in the repairs and maintenance of their allotments. On the issue of disposal of evacuee property, negotiation to Indian authority was also initiated.⁸⁶

The other difficulty was the terrible congestion in housing accommodation. Figures collected during the census of 1951 in respect of certain towns showed an increase of

⁸⁶ Negotiations between India and Pakistan on disposal of refugee property, File No. FO 371/106942, TNA, UK, 1953.

34 per cent in the urban population of the province since 1941. This sudden increase in population accompanied by on large scale building activity during the previous decade. The small number of new building constructed during the disturbances of 1947 and more during the floods of 1950. The great disparity between the demand for and the available supply of housing accommodation for allotments occasioned a great deal of inconvenience to refugees.⁸⁷ As an answer to the terrible congestion in the larger towns of the Province the Urban Development Department, set up, took up the implementation of three satellite town schemes at Lyallpur, Multan and Lahore and one each at Sargodha, Gujranwala, Jhang, Montgomery, Rawalpindi and Sialkot.

The Refugee Tax Committee, which is financing the scheme on behalf of the Central government, decided that 60 per cent of the total area of a scheme should be under building and the roads and parks should be provided in the remaining 40 per cent area. An urban development exhibition was held from the 17 to the 23 May 1953 at Lahore to provide an opportunity to the Public to see and examine what was being done in this province. The exhibition was also jointed by the British Council and thus enabled the local public to see the British Projects with gave an idea of the thought, labour and energy used in country and town planning in England. The exhibition attracted large crowds of interested spectators and was a great success in its object of creating interests in modern housing constructions and town planning.⁸⁸ Central government also allocated Rs. 1,44,515 for the government of the Punjab for the

⁸⁷ The Punjab, A Review of the First Three Years (August 1947 to August 1950), File No. EI-8, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1950, pp. 12.

⁸⁸ The Punjab, A Review of the First Six Years (August 1947 to August 1953), File No. EI (10), Punjab Archives, Lahore, pp. 58.

satellite town scheme.⁸⁹ The following figure shows a standard house in district Khushab.



Figure 5.12. Standard House in Khushab, 1953.

Source:- The Punjab, A Review of the First Six Years (August 1947 to August 1953), File No. EI-10, Punjab Archives, Lahore, pp. 8.

As a resolution of the second difficulty, plans of building 13 satellite towns in the Punjab were proposed and pushed through the stages of approval. The construction of these towns at a total cost of over Rs. 10 *crores* started. The Provincial government obtained a grant of Rs. 3 *crores* and a loan of Rs. 1 ½ *Crore* from the Centre for the purpose. Ministry of Refugees was also granted Rs. 1, 50,000 and Rs. 3,25,000 by the Governor-General during the year ending on the 31 May 1948 and 31 May 1949 to meet his expenditures.⁹⁰ These plans contemplate the allotment of about 10,000 sites in the proposed satellite towns to comparatively poor refugees at

⁸⁹ Fortnightly summaries of the Ministry of the Refugees & Rehabilitation, Cabinet Division, File No. 33/CF/53 Volume V, National Documentation Wing, Islamabad, 1950, pp. 37.

⁹⁰ The Constituent Assembly (legislature) of Pakistan, debates 23 February to 26 May, 1948, National Assembly of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1948, pp. 351.

low rates and the grant of loans to them for construction of houses. Work on four new townships in the *Thal* area has already made considerable progress. Each of these new towns provided accommodation for 30,000 to 50,000 persons.

A Scheme also prepared by the Provincial government for such Provincial permanent settlement of refugees in urban areas as the inter-Dominion agreements permit. Moreover, a plan of carrying out repairs on an adequate scale in urban evacuee property was adopted. A Circle with four Public Work Department (P.W.D) Divisions and a number of Sub-Divisions was organized under the supervision of Superintending Engineer with headquarters at Lahore for operation in Lahore and ten other big towns of the Province. A sum of Rs. 4 *lakhs* was placed at the disposal of the Circle during 1950-1951 which further rose to Rs. 22 *lakh*. A sum of Rs. 5½ *lakhs* was also placed at the disposal of the Military authorities for repairs to evacuee property in Cantonment areas.⁹¹

5.7 Settlement on Agricultural land

The size of the assignment of evacuation and rehabilitation combined with the startling quality of it and the subsequent absence of readiness with respect to the state made matters much more troublesome. The new territory of Punjab was so far scarcely seven days old, when it confronted the principal slide in of the torrential slide. It had hardly dealt with the reality of segment, seen by numerous Punjabis as a removal, when it was overwhelmed by the surge of outcasts. The earth of threatening

⁹¹ The Punjab, A Review of the First Five Years (August 1947 to August 1952), File No. EI-09, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1952, pp. 47-50.

vibe, doubt, instability and viciousness in which the majority of this occurred opened up a chasm.⁹²

Permanent agricultural resettlement took much longer, as it was dependent initially on the exchange of revenue records between the Indian and West Punjab districts and then entailed the task of the evaluation of refugee claims. This involved not only processes of verification, but the need to determine the comparative values of the vacated properties. It was not until January 1949 that a conference of the representatives of India and Pakistan held in Karachi drew up plans for the exchange of land and other immovable properties records. The proprietary right of evacuees to transfer their properties by sale or any other way was recognized. Following the agreement, '*Special Jamabandi*' (revenue records of agricultural land) was exchanged between the two halves of the Punjab.⁹³ The following figure shows the process of land allotment to the Refugees.

⁹² Aiyar, Swarna, "August Anarchy", The Partition Massacres in Punjab, 1947," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 1995, pp. 35.

⁹³ By the end of January 1949, revenue records of 15,184 West Punjab villages had been handed over to the East Punjab government, and, in return, revenue records had been obtained from India of 14,449 villages of East Punjab and the East Punjab Princely States, and of 13 villages of Delhi areas. PSA, Resettlement of Refugees on Land in West Punjab, File No. E-33, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1954, pp. 55.



Figure 5.13. Process of Land Allotment to the Refugees, 1950.

Source:- The Punjab, A Review of the First Three Years (August 1947 to August 1950), File No. EI -8, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1950, pp. 116.

After about three years from the date of partition it can be confidently claimed that 80 to 90 per cent of the refugees who after being uprooted from their ancestral homes had run to the Punjab in panic and distress, was absorbed in the economic life of the province. Their standard of life in their new surroundings was not lower (in most cases it was higher) than what it was before, the number of *Muahjireen* who came to the Punjab was two millions more than the number of Hindus and Sikhs who left. There had thus millions more than the number of Hindus and Sikhs who left. There was thus a sudden jump in the population figure and pressure on land and housing accommodation increased. The province had so far stood this strain; but the provincial authorities were now emphatically of the opinion that the saturation point in the settlement of refugees had already been reached in this province and that a further burden on its resources would gravely jeopardize its economy.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ The Punjab, A Review of the First Three Years (August 1947 to August 1950), File No. EI-8, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1950, pp. 12.

The Rehabilitation Settlement Scheme had not progressed much beyond the stage of planning on paper when the Ministry assumed office in April 1951. It took at once and announced to the public a bold decision to complete actual resettlement under schemes or at any rate substantial part of it in about a year. Various administrative measures were adopted for accelerating the pace of progress. The produce indices of the East Punjab and the West Punjab States were also re-examined and revised where considered necessary so as to give a fairer deal to refugees than they were expected to get under the old tables. Re-organization of the machinery for resettlement work was completed in the summer of 1951 and the actual work got into stride soon after.

5.8 Social Impact of Refugees in Sargodha Region

While discussing the social impact of refugee, the languages played an important role in the society. Before discussing the languages spoken in Sargodha district, it is important to know the areas surrounding it. Its Northern border touches *Puthohar* region while Southern border touches Jhang. So, the *Punjabi* which is spoken in Sargodha includes both the *Puthohari* dialect of Northern areas and the *Jhangvi* dialect of Southern areas.⁹⁵ Both the *Shahpuri* dialect, the main dialect of the district and the *Majhi* dialect, the standard dialect of the other cities of the Punjab are included in *Punjabi* spoken in Sargodha.⁹⁶ All the population of Sargodha understands Urdu. A total of 97.5% population of Sargodha is *Punjabi* speaking

⁹⁵ Interview with Prof. Tanveer Hussain, Shahpur College, Sargodha, 12 September 2017 see also Interview with Fayyaz Hussain, Shahpur College, Sargodha, 12 September 2017 and Interview with Muhammad Bakhsh, Shahpur College, Sargodha, 12 September 2017.

⁹⁶ Interview with Ghulam Rasool, Shahpur Sadar, 12 September 2017 see also Interview with Fazal Hussain, Shahpur Sadar, 12 September 2017 and Interview with Karamat Hussain, Shahpur Sardar, 12 September 2017.

while the remaining 6% population is *Haryanvi* speaking specially in *Phullarwan* and *Ranghari* language.⁹⁷

While discussing the food, *Nihari*, *Boti Kebab*, *Thali* with *Naan*, *Sultani Dal*, *Raita*, *Shahi Paneer*, *Kebabs Faluda*, *Paan Shop*, *Haleem*, the *samosa*, old *Hyderabadi Biryani*, *Korma*, *Bihari Kabab*, *Chilli Sauce*, *Yougurt chutney* and *Biryani* was the dishes that these refugees people brought with them and after arrival of these people, these dishes spread in whole the world. These dishes reflect the tradition of the East Punjab which now has been mixed up with the traditions of the West Punjab.⁹⁸

While discussing about the cast and tribes in Sargodha, all the Muslims believe in equality, therefore, it may be said that cast, as a religious division, does not exist among the Muslims. Pathtan and Baluch exert much influence in the Punjab and differ from the case. Both remained untainted by any admixture of Hindi feelings and customs. The fixation which unites the case, race, community or whatever, it may be called is that of common descent from traditional ancestors. Still, there is a real bond of common origin, common habits, common customs and mode of thoughts and tribal association continues through several countries, which holds there people together.⁹⁹ In this district, land-owning classes are recognized by the tribes based upon caste. Now, the marriages in caste are also disappearing. Comprehensive

⁹⁷ Interview with Shamsher Ahmad, Shahpur, 12 September 2018 see also Interview with Malik Allah Ditta, Shahpur, 12 September 2017.

⁹⁸ Interview with Mian Awais, Shahpur, 12 September 2018 see also Interview with Mian Akram, Shahpur, 12 September 2017.

⁹⁹ Interview with Saddique Alam, Juharabad, 13 September 2017 see also Interview with Alam Sher, Juharabad, 13 September 2017.

classification of caste has become a tradition of recognized status. The population of the district is generally sub-divided into tribes.¹⁰⁰

To improve the social orders in all the sectors, education plays a tremendous role. As discussed before, after the partition, communal riots started between Muslims and non-Muslims. Killing, looting, raping, abducting and force migration were faced by refugees. When the refugee reached in Sargodha, they were totally disappointed of their lives as they were detracted from their social life. To move them back on their tract, education played its role. The table below provides information regarding growth of schools during the period between 1950 to 1970:-

Table 5.6
Educational Institute Detail in Sargodha

Year	Primary Schools		Middle Schools		High School	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1950	266	80	33	3	25	3
1960	500	190	41	8	29	6
1970	775	300	48	16	32	16

Source: District Education Office, Sargodha, 1974.

Another impact was that before partition, Kinfolk's organization was strong in the West Punjab. The towns were divided into kinfolk's neighborhoods where caste and profession were interrelated. But with the arrival of refugees, these divisions became weak. After the process of migration, Pakistan became a multi-cultural and multi-

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Prof. Ali Zaib, Block A, Sargodha, 14 September 2017 see also interview with Prof. Ghulam Haidar, Block A, Sargodha, 14 September 2017.

religion society. But the smaller provinces resist this biculturalism but the refugees in Sindh supported it.¹⁰¹

In India, there was no Sikh culture or Parsee culture or Christian culture. But definitely, there was a Hindu culture which was ancient and most established. But in this culture, the Muslims had a different outlook as they had their own culture. Sargodhian culture is a rural culture. Most of the people here follow the typical rural value which is the beauty of the Pakistani culture but with the passage of time, Sargodha has stepped forward toward modernization thanks to modern technology.¹⁰²

During Pakistan movement, it was heard that our culture and society will be of different kind from the Hindus and defiantly from the English. So, it was assumed that that culture of Pakistan will be a unique culture. But it will be difficult to prove that what type of culture this will be? If we think from the Islamic point of view, the danger of *Mullah* worries us.¹⁰³ If we take *Mullah* at a side and through the danger away, then we start it from Mohenjo Daro. Hindus also take it sacred but saying of Quaid-e-Azam that we are different from the culture of Daro and Hindus is also a valid concept. It is said by Hassan Askari that Pakistani Culture should be local, Islamic and International one at the same time.

¹⁰¹ Raza, A. H. *Migration and Small Towns in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 23.

¹⁰² <http://historypak.com/sargodha/> retrieved on 24 December 2017.

¹⁰³ Abdullah, D. S. *Culture ka Masla* (in urdu). Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publication, 2001, pp. 85.

During the process of migration, people started to settle in Sargodha from India. Some people came here due to the government settlement policy while others came to live with their relatives, thus, starting an age of new culture. Culture does not mean only customs, traditions, religion, economic sources and needs of life but it also includes the factors affecting life. Only after the amalgamation of these factors, a society culminates towards its zenith.¹⁰⁴ Whenever a Muslim migrates for Islam, he feels as he is going to his own home.¹⁰⁵ The same was the belief of the Indian Muslims. The Muslims who migrated from Hindustan were of the view that they had got their goal. They thought that they, together with local Muslims, will establish such a society that the whole world will quote them as an example of brotherhood and fraternity. They dreamt that in an Islamic society, they will practice their religion freely where nobody will make any hurdle in performing Islamic rituals. In the land of pure, no communal riots will recur. They further expected that in that new society, there will be no Hindi-Urdu controversy.¹⁰⁶

The same thing happened in Sargodha. After the safe evacuation of Sikhs and Hindus, the Muslims started migration from the different parts of the India and due to this reason, the people started to settle in Sargodha as like in other cities. The refugees were routed out from their civilization, culture and living style. Whereas, the locals had not a culture strong enough to absorb in it the culture which refugees

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Suleman Ahmad, Block A, Sargodha, 14 September 2017 see also Interview with Muhammad Hafeez, Block A, Sargodha, 14 September 2017.

¹⁰⁵ Jalibi, D. J. *Qomi Culture ki Tashkeel ka Masla* (in Urdu). Karachi: Elite Publisher Ltd, 1964, pp.104 see also Naveed i-Subha, "Qomi Zuban ka Masla (in urdu) by Noor Muhammad, November 1957, Government College, Sargodha, 1957, pp. 53.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Prof. Ali Hussain, Iqra Academy, Sargodha, 15 September 2017.

brought with themselves. Due to this reason, both the refugees and locals breaded the foundation of a new culture called as the culture of Pakistan.¹⁰⁷

As all the cities were facing the challenges of rehabilitation of refugees from India, the same was faced by Sargodha. The refugees brought many heartbreaking stories with them which were not reconcilable but when these refugees came to Pakistan, they thought of cherishing sweet dreams in their eyes. They were thinking that they were going to their sacred homeland where their own people live which will welcome them warm-heartedly. But when they came here, their dreams were shattered. Their expectations were ended in smoke. The glittering dreams in their eyes fell to the ground. During rehabilitation, they were not given their due rights. When they were called as “*mohajirs*” with stereotyped, they bitterly resented it, they felt the sense of deprivation and remained in chronic trauma psychologically as they had left their lands and properties in the name of migration.¹⁰⁸

Due to these factors, the establishment of new society was jeopardized with many dangers which were yet to be resolved immediately. When refugees come and locals feel that these are coming to usurp their resources, it only leads to unending clash of both ideology and that of culture. Nearly, 90% of evacuee property became a ferment of hullabaloo among the locals when it had to be allotted to the refugees.¹⁰⁹ Under

¹⁰⁷ Jalibi, Qomi Culture ki..., pp. 105.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ullah, S. A. *Study of Tension Between the Locals and Refugee in Lahore*, M.A Thesis. Lahore: Sociology Department, University of Punjab, 1957, pp. 24.

such circumstances, how changes can may be made in a society whilst it promotes the culture of usurpation.¹¹⁰

In the small period of migration, the sentiments of hatred were so munching and nourished that everyone was thinking of himself. Due to these unjust circumstances, no Pakistani remained a Pakistani in true spirits. Due to this, the inhabitants of the Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and N.W.F.P. started calling themselves as Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi and Pathan, respectively, but no one was truly agreed to be called as Pakistani except a few exceptions. The same trait was observed in Sargodha. The people who were settled here from Gujranwala, Gujrat and Sialkot were called “Locals” whereas those people who migrated from India were called “mohajirs” according to the geography. On other side, the refugees from India showed a sense of superiority, which produced a negative effect on the locals which resulted in producing an indifferent behaviour in the locals. They banned to welcome the refugees from India and this issue was to be solved at national level and not on local level.¹¹¹

The people in common affairs of life seem united but whenever any important issue such as marriage, election or any tournament comes to be settled, the gulf between Locals and refugees becomes clear. If we take the example of marriage, the refugees don't want to marry in Locals and in the same way, the Locals seem hesitant to marry their daughter or son in refugee's families. Even after 71 years of independence (1947-2018), this gulf remains unabridged. Similarly, during the

¹¹⁰ Ullah, *Study of Tension...*, pp. 24.

¹¹¹ Interview with Asif Walah, Chak 87 NB, Sargodha, 16 September 2017.

election campaign, it is observed that both the communities show different ways of campaigning which mark them as Locals and refugees.¹¹²

Still, the Locals blame the refugees calling them as '*mohajirs*' and claim that these have shattered their peace and lives as they were living peacefully before refugees arrival but on the other side, the refugees claim that Locals are the people to whom they taught the style of living and etiquettes. But this prejudice varies from villages to cities. Sargodha is consisted of 207 villages and here, the structure of villages of Locals and refugees is different and so do their customs. In the villages of Sargodha, the gulf between Locals and refugees is even worse which can be seen clearly on any special occasion as it has already mentioned above. But it is being thought that this persistent gulf will become narrow if not bridged.¹¹³

However, the situation of prejudice and narrow-mindedness in the cities of Sargodha is of less gravity. In cities, the gap still exists between the two communities but it is too short to be discussed as the life of city is faster than the city of villages and everyone is busy in his own world having no time in finding faults with each other on the basis of communal backdrop. And the second reason is education as educated people are not prey of conservatism. The education makes them a good man instead of making them a Local or a refugees. Education plays an important role in making them a good citizen. It is due to the education that the younger generation has almost bridged up the gulf prevailing between refugees and Locals. This generation has a

¹¹² Interview with Rashid Bajwa, Chak 87 NB, Sargodha, 16 September 2017.

¹¹³ Interview with Asif Nawaz, New Satellite Town, 1 September 2017.

less concept of communalism. They think the world is a global village now where every human must respect the cultural values of every other human.

Moreover, this situation is not much different than the one which we all notice in a home where some mutual conflicts arise and then, at the same time, are settled down. As an example, it can be observed that in the war of 1965 that was fought between India and Pakistan, all the people of varied background represented themselves like a symbol of unity, discipline and faith. In this war, not only the Pakistan Air force of Sargodha proved a heavy canon for the enemy, but also the people of Sargodha participated in the war and helped Pak Army. They worked shoulder to shoulder and the enemies were forced to retreat. Due to the bravery and patriotic sentiments, Sargodha is called the City of Eagles. This event showed the unity of refugees and Locals.¹¹⁴

5.9 Pakistan's Economic Growth since Partition

After the establishment of Pakistan, a deluge of refugees came to West Punjab. The economy of Pakistan was seriously dislocated as the non-Muslims who evacuated to India were mostly shopkeepers, middlemen and clerical official while the Muslims who evacuated to West Punjab were mostly poor peasants and they were also not much expert in the field of agriculture.¹¹⁵ All the economic systems like factories, banks, industries, agricultural land etc. were disturbed because the majority of non-

¹¹⁴ Interview with Prof. Badar, New Satellite Town, Sargodha, 1 September 2017.

¹¹⁵ The Constituent Assembly (legislature) of Pakistan, debates 15 December to 30 December, 1948, National Assembly of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1948, pp. 4 see also Khalid B. Sayeed. *Pakistan: The Formative Phase, 1857-1948*, Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 264.

Muslims who run them had left for their new country.¹¹⁶ It took years to repair this situation.¹¹⁷ About 80% industrial capitals were owned by the Hindus and Sikhs.¹¹⁸ With the evacuation of them, it led to the collapse of the administrative set up of Pakistan. Due to these circumstances, this state declared as “State of emergency”.¹¹⁹ The whole of economy has two important sectors which are Industry & Agriculture.¹²⁰ The principal method of increasing national output and raising standards of living, in the long run, must be that of industrialization. The plan, accordingly gives industry a priority second only to that given to agriculture.¹²¹

In May 1948, the government of Pakistan established the first Finance Corporation to provide financial assistance to refugees. The authorized capital of the corporation is Rs. 30 million to be wholly subscribed by government. The Corporation is assisting the refugee artisans and craftsmen by advancing loans, by organizing schemes of cottage industries on a cooperative basis and by arranging the marketing of their goods.¹²² This cooperation was authorized to give advance loans to the refugees up to Rs. 500 in the case of individual refugee, Rs. 2000 in the case of a company, Rs. 5000 in the case of a co-operative society, Moreover, these limited has been raised

¹¹⁶ Dar, F. A. *Communal Riots in the Punjab*. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical & Cultural Research, 2003, pp. 128.

¹¹⁷ Economic Effects of the Disturbances in the Punjab, File No. DO 142/28, The National Archives (TNA), United Kingdom (UK), 1948.

¹¹⁸ Vakil, C. *Economic Consequences of Divided India*. Bombay, 1950, pp. 13.

¹¹⁹ Khalid, Pakistan: The Formative Phase..., pp. 267.

¹²⁰ Waseem, M. *Politics and the State in Pakistan*. Islamabad: NIHCR, 2007, pp. 110.

¹²¹ 1st Five Year Plan 1955-60, File No. 2574, National Planning Board, Karachi, 1960, pp. 44.

¹²² Labour situation in Pakistan, File No. Do 142/89, TNA, UK, 1949 see also Labour situation in India and Pakistan, File No. Do 142/72, TNA, UK, 1948-1950 and improving the lot of Industrial Labour and “Plan for Rehabilitation of Artisan Refugees”, *Daily Sind Observer*, 29 September 1949, pp. 3.

by the Ministry of Finance to Rs. 2000, Rs.5000 and Rs. 10,000 respectively.¹²³ Up to the end of 1953, it had advanced loans amounting to Rs. 10 million to individuals, firms and societies, and distributed sewing machines worth about Rs. 454,828, thereby assisting refugee widows, low-paid employees, tailors, etc. Raw material such as cotton, silk and woolen yarn, pig iron, and synthetic stones valued at Rs. 9.5 million were supplied by the Corporation to refugee artisans and workshops, below market prices. The Corporation has also established industrial centers and colonies at 10 places at a cost of Rs. 3.8 million to help artisans who could not furnish sureties for loans and has built 256 houses in Karachi and let them on hire-system.¹²⁴

The Pakistan Industrial Finance Corporation was established in 1949 to provide medium and long-term credit facilities to industries. The total accommodation granted by the Corporation to Industrial concerns up to 5 January 1954, amounted to Rs. 38.1 million. In 1952, the scope of the Pakistan Industrial Finance Corporation Act, 1949, was enlarged to enable the Corporation to grant loans and other financial assistance to all industrial concerns, whether incorporated or not. The Law, as originally enacted, authorized the Corporation to grant loans only to the public limited companies or registered cooperative societies.¹²⁵ In 1949, three Rehabilitation Boards, for the provinces of the Punjab, the N.W.F.P and Sind-Karachi were set up for the purpose of making allotments of evacuee industrial

¹²³ Forthrightly Summaries of the Ministry of Finance, File No. 21/CF/50 Volume IV, National Documentation Wing, Islamabad, 1950, pp. 50.

¹²⁴ Development of Industry in Pakistan, File No. DO 142/46, TNA, UK, 1950 see also Pakistan 1953-54, Pakistan Publication, Karachi, pp. 32 and The Constituent Assembly (legislature) of Pakistan, debates 23 February to 26 May, 1948, National Assembly of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1948, pp. 351.

¹²⁵ The Constituent Assembly (legislature) of Pakistan, debates 23 February to 26th May, 1948, National Assembly of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1948, pp. 351.

undertakings in the respective provinces. However, soon it was felt that this Board did not give due weight to the provincial point of view as they were not directly in touch with the economic life of the province and it was further suggested that this task must be given to the Rehabilitation and Industrial Departments at provincial level.¹²⁶

After this amendment, the Corporation sanctioned loans amounting to about Rs. 3.3 million to individuals and Rs. 10.3 million to private limited companies as against Rs. 4.3 million for public limited companies.¹²⁷ For the purpose of promoting new industries and, if necessary, participating in industrial undertakings, the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC) was established in January 1952.¹²⁸ Where private capital is not forthcoming in the initial stages, PIDC aims at transferring as much of share capital as possible to the private investors at later stages.¹²⁹ A trade agreement was also signed with France, Japan and India. Pakistan Trade Delegation also visited West Germany and Czechoslovakia and signed Trade Agreements with those countries. In concluding these agreements Pakistan's policy was to secure the best markets for her raw materials like Jute, Cotton, and skins, Salt, Tea, Wheat, Gypsum, Wool etc. and to develop and create new markets for her manufactured goods like sports goods, musical and surgical instruments and also the

¹²⁶ Demand of the Punjab Government for reconstitution of the Rehabilitation Board constituted, Cabinet Division, File No. 39/CF/53 revision of File No. 99/CF/49 and 27/CF/51, National Documentation Wing, Islamabad, 1953, pp. 5-15.

¹²⁷ The Constituent Assembly (Legislature) of Pakistan, debates 23 February to 26 May, 1948, National Assembly of Pakistan, Islamabad, pp. 351.

¹²⁸ "We should have to Go Back in 1960s", *Daily Express*, 8 January 2018, pp. 8.

¹²⁹ The Constituent Assembly (Legislature) of Pakistan, debates 23 February to 26 May, 1948, pp. 363.

products of the arts and crafts.¹³⁰ A National Investment Trust was also set up to channel the savings of the small man into industrial investment. The government also provided a large number of incentives to foreign investors in the form of tax and other concessions, besides giving guarantees against expropriation and allowing the remittance of profit.¹³¹

Industrial development has been very rapid in the 1955-1960. The plan proposes further advances but in a better balanced manner, through the fuller use of existing industrial capacity and new projects of high priority those that are expected to increase the national income substantially, to save or earn foreign exchange, or to create employment opportunities to the largest extent in relation to investment. Substantial increase in industrial research and a large expansion of the programme to assist small and cottage industries through research, training, finance, marketing and advisory services, was included in the Plan. The objective of government's industrial policy is to maximize the production of manufactured goods within the country and to accelerate the pace of development in the less developed regions of the country.¹³² The production of large-scale industries is expected to increase by about seventy-five per cent during the Plan period. Important industrial targets include: raising the productive capacity of cement from 670,000 tons per year to 1,280,000 tons of

¹³⁰ Reports of Industries Department of Pakistan, File No. Do 142/122, TNA, UK, 1948-1950.

¹³¹ Pakistan' Economic Growth since 1958, Statistics Division Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1958, pp. 31.

¹³² Pakistan 1962-63, Government of the Pakistan, Pakistan Publication, Karachi, 1964, pp. 41.

fertilizer from nil to 62,000 tons; of sugar from 115,000 tons to 235,000 tons; and the number of jute looms installed from 3,300 to 12,000.¹³³

Pakistan's economy at the time of partition was predominantly agricultural and there were very few organized industries. The government, from the very beginning paid active attention to industrialization, and efforts were made to provide basic facilities to the industrialists.¹³⁴ At the time of partition India contains about 90% of all industrial establishments. A large proportion of the Pakistan establishments were of minor importance (11,000 factories in India and 1,000 in Pakistan).¹³⁵ Industrially the Punjab was, like the rest of Pakistan, in a primitive state of under development. Under the British rule a little headway was made by private industrial enterprise in this area, mainly in the direction of setting up power-worked factories, like cotton ginning factories, flour mills and rice husking a plant for the primary processing of the province's agricultural produce.¹³⁶

A miscellany of small factories including printing presses, ice factories and electric supply under taking also made their appearance in big towns. Very few attempts were made to establish large or basic industries and whatever progress there was had

¹³³ 1st Five Year Plan 1955-1960, File No. 2574, National Planning Board, Karachi, 1960, pp. 17 see also The Constituent Assembly (Legislature) of Pakistan, debates 30 September to 28 November 1960, National Assembly of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1960, pp. 1.

¹³⁴ Pakistan Basic Facts year 1961, prepared by Economic Advisor to the Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Finance, produced by the Department of Films & Publication, Ministry of National Reconstruction and information, Government of Pakistan, 1961, pp. 166 see also Pakistan Basic Facts year 1963 and 1964, prepared by Economic Advisor to the Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Finance, produced by the Department of Films & Publication, Ministry of National Reconstruction and information, Government of Pakistan, 1963 & 1964, pp. 344.

¹³⁵ Effects of Partition on Economy, File No. DO 142/25, TNA, UK, 1947.

¹³⁶ Events in India and Pakistan, File No. FO 371/69740, TNA, UK, 1948 see also economic situation in India, File No. DO 142/51, TNA, UK, 1948-1950 and Economic situation in India, MSS Eur IOR Neg 15542/11, The British Library, London, 1948.

to plan behind it. There were 911 registered factories working before partition in the area which now comprises the Punjab.¹³⁷ More than 90 per cent of these, owned by Hindus and Sikhs closed down immediately after partition and the rest suffered from the general dislocation of trade banking and personnel. Many of the abandoned factories were even looted and damaged.¹³⁸

The rehabilitation of these had been one of the main problems, with which the department of industries has been dealing. The selection of suitable parties to run them was only one part of the problem. This was left to the allotment boards set up by the Pakistan Punjab Joint Refugee Council. Special efforts had to be made to obtain, often from foreign countries essential mill stores and raw materials to enable the allottees to start work. At the end of 1950 about 700 registered factories restored to normal working, giving employment to about 73,000 persons, including about 12000 employees of seasonal factories. Another 350000 persons in the province belong to what is known as unorganized factory labour and were employed in non registered factories.¹³⁹

With an abundance of fine varieties of cotton, the Punjab offers good opportunities for the growth of the cotton textile industry. Two new fair-sized textile mills were come into being in the province since partition. One of them was located at Lyallpur and the other at Multan. A third mill, which would specialize in the manufacture of

¹³⁷ Ministry of Law and Labour, Statistic of Factories for the year ending 1947, Cabinet Division, File No. 18/CF/49, National Documentation Wing, Islamabad, 1947, pp. 3.

¹³⁸ The Punjab, A Review of the First Three Years (August 1947 to August 1950), File No. EI-8, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1950, pp. 34.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

towels, was nearing completion at Rawalpindi. A few more were at the stage of planning. Two cotton textile factories which were not running satisfactorily in the hands of private allottees had been taken over by government for management. The total numbers of new spindles and looms that had been or were in the process of being installed in the new textile mills since partition is 50,600 and 2,500 respectively. Another 80,000 spindles was also installed. At that time the Punjab government was not satisfied with this rate of progress but the rate was determined to a large extent by the amount of private enterprise in the industrial field.¹⁴⁰

The important colonies of handloom weavers had spring up in the Punjab after partition one of them Lyallpur another at Multan and the third Jhang. A large number of refugee handloom weavers from India were settled in these colonies. Schemes were under consideration for the construction of proper housing accommodation for the artisans assembled in these centers. Calendaring and finishing plants had been and were being set up for benefit of this cottage industry. Already 12 calendaring plants and there woolen cloth finishing plants were working in the province. The weavers at Jhang had executed during the past 2.1/2 years, under the supervision of the Industries Department, order of nearly one *lakh* blankets valued at about Rs. 14 *laksh*.¹⁴¹

The establishment of large scale factories was beset with difficulties. It requires power, capital, technical staff transports facilities, capital goods and machinery and certain basic raw materials that was not available in the country. It was essential to

¹⁴⁰ The Punjab, A Review of the First Three Years (August 1947 to August 1950), File No. EI-8, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1950, pp. 34.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

expand the existing large scale industries to the utmost within the shortest possible time. The total expenditure involved could be about Rs. 25 *crores*. The new factories would give direct employment to about 70,000 workers. The setting up of large scale factories encourages the growth of numerous subsidiary small crafts, and thus gives employment to a large number of people.¹⁴² On 31 March 1964, to view the growth of economy and the need to provide more resources to the provinces for development purpose the central government appointed a National Finance Commission to make recommendations about allocation for revenues between the central and the provincial governments.¹⁴³

Table 5.7

*Total Budget allocated for Industrial Development in Punjab*¹⁴⁴

Sr No.	Year	Budget Allocated
1.	1939-40	8,52,865
2.	1961-61	40,00,100
3.	1973-74	47,80,227
4.	1974-75	42,67,286

Source:- The Punjab Public Library, Lahore, 1975.

¹⁴² Papers related to Refugees Rehabilitation, File No. 804, The National Archives, Islamabad, 1950, pp. 22.

¹⁴³ Combined Finance and Revenue accounts of the Central and Provincial Governments in Pakistan for the year 1964-64, File No. 336.025491 PAK-COM, Punjab Public Library, Lahore, 1965, pp. 11.

¹⁴⁴ Combined Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Central and Provincial Governments in India for the year 1939-40, File No. 336.0254 IND-F, Punjab Public Library, Lahore, 1940, pp. 296 see also Government of the West Pakistan Detail of Demands & Appropriations (Non-Developmental Expenditure) for the year 1961-62 Volume I, File No. 352.12 PUM-D, Punjab Public Library, Lahore, 1962, pp. 547, Combined Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Federal and Provincial Governments in Pakistan for the year 1973-74, File No. 336.025491 PAK-COM, Punjab Public Library, Lahore, 1974, pp. 131 and Combined Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Federal and Provincial Governments in Pakistan for the year 1974-75, File No. 336.025491 PAK-REV, Punjab Public Library, Lahore, 1975, pp. 123.

5.10 Rehabilitation of Artisans

In order to assist the artisan class of refugees, A committee called the Refugee Artisan and Craftsmen Rehabilitation Committee as established on 3 April 1948 under the ministry of economic affairs with the office of assisting in there lied and resettlement of the artisan and craftsmen.¹⁴⁵ The corporation advances loans to refugee shopkeepers, cottage industry workers, artisans and agriculturalists, working as individuals or as Co-operative Societies. Besides granting loans, the Corporation has also been helping the artisan refugees by settling them in industrial colonies and providing them with raw material at low rates.¹⁴⁶

Sewing machines were supplied to refugee's widows, tailors and industrial homes employing refugee women. Up to the end of 1953, it had advanced loans amounting to Rs. 10 million to individuals, firms and societies. Sewing machines worth Rs. 454,828 had been distributed to refugee tailors and widows on hire-purchase basis. Raw material such as cotton, silk and woolen yarn, pig-iron and synthetic stones, valued at Rs. 9.5 million were supplied to refugee artisans and workshops below market prices. The Corporation had also established industrial centers and colonies at 10 places at a cost Rs. 3.8 million to help artisans who could not furnish sureties for loans and has built 256 houses in Karachi and let them on hire-purchase system.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ The Punjab, A Review of the First Year, August 1947, A-79, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1947, pp. 75.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ 1st Five Year Plan 1955-60, File No. 2574, National Planning Board, Karachi, 1960, pp. 200.

5.11 Industrial Development in Sargodha Division

The economy of Sargodha division was seriously dislocated after the migration as the non-Muslims were mostly middlemen, clerical official, shopkeepers and on the other hand, the majority of Muslims who migrated to Sargodha division were poor peasants and they also were not much expert in the field of industry. The population growth in Sargodha district is as under:-

Table 5.8

*Population Growth in Sargodha district*¹⁴⁸

Census year	Population	Average annual increase
1911	8,849	--
1921	17,728	10.03
1931	26,762	5.9
1941	36,420	3.61
1951	78,463	11.54
1961	83,141	6.48
1972	1,66,076	10.2

Source: Punjab, Housing and Physical planning, Sargodha, 1974.

It can be noticed that there had been very high percentage of increase in population during the decade 1941-51. This is due to the fact that after partition many refugees settled in Sargodha City. The growth rate decreased during the decade 1951-61. The rate of growth against increased abnormally in the decade 1961-72. This increase can be attributed to the creation of a Divisional Headquarters at Sargodha, as a result

¹⁴⁸ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Sargodha, File No. 15582, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Sargodha, 1977, pp. 5.

of which the town got more importance, and many people came to the city in connection with employment in government offices and other tertiary activities. Expansion of air base and creation of cantonment in Sargodha were other important factors that contributed towards high rate of increase in population. Sargodha did not made sufficient development in the field of industry. Investment shy people and location of the town near G.T Road and the main railway line appear to be the major reasons for retarded growth of the town in this field.¹⁴⁹

Rich people in the area were big landlords. They were net industry mined and therefore, did not invest in this field. Whatever, development appears to have been made in this field after 1947 was because of the efforts of less fortunate people. As a consequence no big industry could be established in the town in the post Indo-Pak partition period. Unchecked concentration of industries in the nearby town of Faisalabad and lack of incentives in the town also contributed to its slow growth.¹⁵⁰ An Industrial Survey of the town was carried out in the year 1976. All the industries were enumerated in the survey and data regarding location of industries, their structural formation, employment size etc; were collected. It was revealed that there were only 9 industrial establishments in the town in the year 1947. The number has grown to 87 by the year 1976. Total area occupied by the 87 units stood at 57 acres of land. Main features of the data collected follow. Before Independence there were

¹⁴⁹ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Sargodha, File No. 15582, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Sargodha, 1977, pp. 5.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

only a few oil Mills functioning at Sargodha but after partition the district has made rapid progress in industrialization.¹⁵¹

Industries in the town are concentrated in the factory area situated in between the railway line and Sillanwali road, towards south-west of the town. The industries located in the area are the older once and comparatively large sized. Other industries which have cropped up in the shape of small sized units are scattered all over the town and except for a couple of cases are located towards the north of the railway line.¹⁵² If we discussed about the industrial structure of Sargodha then traditionally, the industries established in Sargodha comprised of cotton ginning, oil, soap and flour milling units. Other factories like rice, Ice, Match, Pulses etc; had also cropped up in the town. Different types of industries in the town are shown in this table.

Table 5.9

*Industries in Sargodha*¹⁵³

Type of Industry	Industrial Units		Labour employed			Total labour force	Percent of total
	Number of units	Percent of total	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Un-Skilled		
Cotton Ginning	4	4.60	46	10	61	117	10.17
Cotton ginning & pressing	5	5.75	36	32	96	164	14.27
Oil & Cotton mills	2	2.30	5	7	81	93	8.9
Oil Mills	6	6.90	20	3	41	64	5.57

¹⁵¹ Organization, P. C. District Census Report of Sargodha 1998 Cenus publication No. 36. Islamabad: Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1999, pp. 25.

¹⁵² Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Sargodha, File No. 15582, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning cell, Sargodha, 1977, pp. 17.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

Table 5.9 (continued)

Oil & soap factories	1	1.14	2	3	102	107	9.30
Oil & rice Mills	1	1.14	4	2	4	10	0.87
Oil & Ice Factories	2	2.30	14	--	8	22	1.91
Soap factories	16	18.39	58	2	16	76	6.61
Flour Mills	6	6.90	20	8	61	89	7.74
Flour & Pulses	2	2.30	10	1	4	15	1.30
Pulses & Rice	2	2.30	7	3	9	19	1.65
Pulses	10	11.49	10	6	22	38	3.30
Rice Factories	7	8.05	18	3	57	78	6.78
Ice Factories	12	13.79	51	36	51	138	12.00
Chemical	2	2.30	6	3	36	45	3.91
Match Factories	1	1.15	1	--	--	1	0.9
Matal & Matel Works	4	4.60	35	3	16	54	4.70
Miscellaneous	4	4.60	7	0	13	20	1.74

Source: Punjab, Housing and Physical planning, Sargodha, 1974.

It can be seen from the above table that the dominating Industries of Sargodha are soap, oil, cotton ginning, flour pulses, rice and ice factories. These factories constitute 87.35% of the total number of industrial units in the town. Except for the ice factories, which account for 13.79% of the total industrial units all the above mentioned industries are agro-based industries. Most of the industrial unit, i.e. 55 units were owned by individuals. Whereas there was neither any government owned nor any public limited concern in the town, the remaining 32 industries were owned by private companies. Almost all the industries had sufficient space with them. Source of power was exclusively electricity. Only two carpet factories in the town were hand operated.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Sargodha, File No. 15582, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning cell, Sargodha, 1977, pp. 17.

Total numbers of industrial workers in the town were 300 in the year 1947. The number rose to 1150 in 1976. The percentage of industrial labour force to population of the town was very low as compared to other important towns in the province. The industries located in Sargodha had large areas of land in comparison to employment which was manifested by workers/space ratio 20 workers per acre. Out of 87 industrial units, 54 industries employ up to ten workers. The rest of the 33 units employee more than 10 workers and comprise of rice and oil mills. These industries employ 865 workers, i.e. 75% of the total labour force.¹⁵⁵ Most of the labour force, i.e. 678 or 69% is unskilled. Skilled and semi-skilled workers, on the other hand, constitute 30% and 11% of the total industrial labour force.¹⁵⁶

Table 5.10
Number of Workers

Employment size	Number of Industrial Units	Percent of total industries	Number of workers	Percent of labour force
Up to 10 workers	54	62	285	25%
More than 10 workers	33	38	865	75%
Total	87	100	1150	100%

Source: Punjab, Housing and Physical planning, Sargodha, 1974.

Soap, *Dal*, Ice and rice factories are the dominating industries of Sargodha Town. Second largest category was the flour milling, oil and cotton ginning factories which

¹⁵⁵ Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Sargodha, File No. 15582, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning cell, Sargodha, 1977, pp. 17.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, pp. 18-20.

account for 33.33% of the industrial units. According to assumed projections the total population of Sargodha town for the year 1976 was 1,93,809. Growth of industry in Sargodha, in past years, had been negligible. There were anyhow signs of accelerated growth in the field in future. Incentives provided by small industries corporation coupled with change in local conditions warrant the same. A standard of one of industrial area had therefore, been proposed in the upcoming plan for population of 1000 persons.¹⁵⁷

Economic base of a Town depends mostly on industry and commerce. In case this important aspect does not flourish, the town starts to deteriorate. Jauharabad, in Khushab was basically established and planned as industrial cum *mandi* town. Industrial area in the Town was well located and was segregated from the Residential area with a buffer zone. Nearly 120 acres of land was earmarked for this purpose. Necessary physical infrastructure including railway line was provided to the industrial area. So far 102 industrial units was established which have engaged 1517 workers. Industrial labour force in the Town at the rate of 3% was 1260 which means that the Town engaged surplus labour force of the other areas as well. It was a very satisfactory situation. But for future some problems started taking birth. The industrial zone was being invaded by residential activity due to lack of development control. Out of 102 industrial units, there was one sugar mill known as Koh-e-Noor

¹⁵⁷ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Sargodha, File No. 15582, government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning cell, Sargodha, 1977, pp. 18-20.

Sugar Mill, 5 flour Mills, 26 Furniture Making shops, 4 Gypsum plants, 3 Printing processes, 2 Ice factories and one Prefabrication plant.¹⁵⁸

5.11.1 Tehsil Khushab

Khushab has since long been famous for its hand-loom, which manufactured '*Lachas*' '*Lungies*' and its earthen wares. Twenty seven loom units and 28 pottery units in the existing town showed that these Industries occupy an important position in the town even in the present times due to its pleasant atmosphere comparing to other cities. A total number of 137 industrial units exists within the Municipal boundaries as against 29 Industries existing in the town in the year 1947. Area occupied by the Industries till 1978 was 74.25 acres.¹⁵⁹

The biggest Industry in the town was the United Cotton Mills. This unit is located towards the western end of the Municipal boundary on Mianwali Road, across the Railway Line, running parallel to the Highway and covers an area of 36 acres. Rice Mills were located on Katha Road, Sargodha Road, as well as in the town. A number of 15 brick kilns were also scattered around the built up town. Rests of Industries were located in the built up area with a concentration of hand looms in *Mohalla Taj Pura* and Pottery units in *Mohalla Kumharan*.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Jahurabad, File No. 11583, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Jaharuabad, 1977, pp. 20.

¹⁵⁹ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Khushab, File No. 11585, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Khushab, 1977, pp. 12.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

As already stated, traditionally Khushab was famous for handlooms and earthen wares. With the passage of time and the growth of the town other Industries started establishing in the area. A cotton Textile unit within the Municipal boundaries of Khushab and two Textile mills in the nearby town of Jauharabad were subsequent industrial establishments in the area.¹⁶¹

Table 5.11

*Industrial Pattern of Khushab till 1978*¹⁶²

Sr. No.	Type of Industry	Industrial Establishment		Labour Force	
		No. of Units	Percent of Total	Labour Employed	Present of Total
1	Hand Looms	27	19.70	71	2.76
2	Earthen Wares	28	20.44	41	1.59
3	Brick Kilns	15	10.95	282	10.96
4	‘Kharad’ Machines	13	9.49	20	0.78
5	Flour Mills	9	6.57	19	0.74
6	Bus Repairing	9	6.57	30	1.17
7	Rice Mills	8	5.84	51	1.97
8	Saw Machines	7	5.11	17	0.66
9	Saw & Flour Chakies	4	2.92	6	0.23
10	Carpet Making	4	2.92	11	0.43
11	Furniture Making	3	2.19	9	0.35
12	Cotton Ginning	2	1.46	6	0.23
13	Soap Factories	2	1.46	8	0.31
14	Ice Factories	2	1.46	14	0.54

¹⁶¹ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Khushab, File No. 11585, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Khushab, 1977, pp. 12.

¹⁶² Ibid.

Table 5.11 (continued)

15	Cotton Textile	1	0.73	1981	76.96
16	Oil & Flour	1	0.73	4	0.16
17	R.C.C Pipes	1	0.73	1	0.04
18	Miscellaneous	1	0.73	1	0.04
Total		137	100.00	2574	10.00

Source: Punjab, Housing and Physical planning, Khushab, 1974.

Hand Looms and Pottery form the majority of Industrial units i.e. 40.15% of the total Industries. Brick Kilns and *kharad* machines form 20.44% of the existing Industries with a variety of Industries of different types in their wake. Labour intensive Industries were the textile Mills and the brick Kilns with 76.96% and 10.96% of the total Industrial Labour force respectively. One hundred and twelve of the Industrial units were owned by individuals, whereas 25 units belong to private companies. Public sector had no share in the Industrial set up in the town. Most of the Industries, i.e. 97 or 70.80 of them were run in self owned premises. Forty units were located on rented premises.¹⁶³ The following figure shows the Jauharabad Sugar Factory (under construction) in district Khushab.

¹⁶³ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Khushab, File No. 11585, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Khushab, 1977, pp. 12.

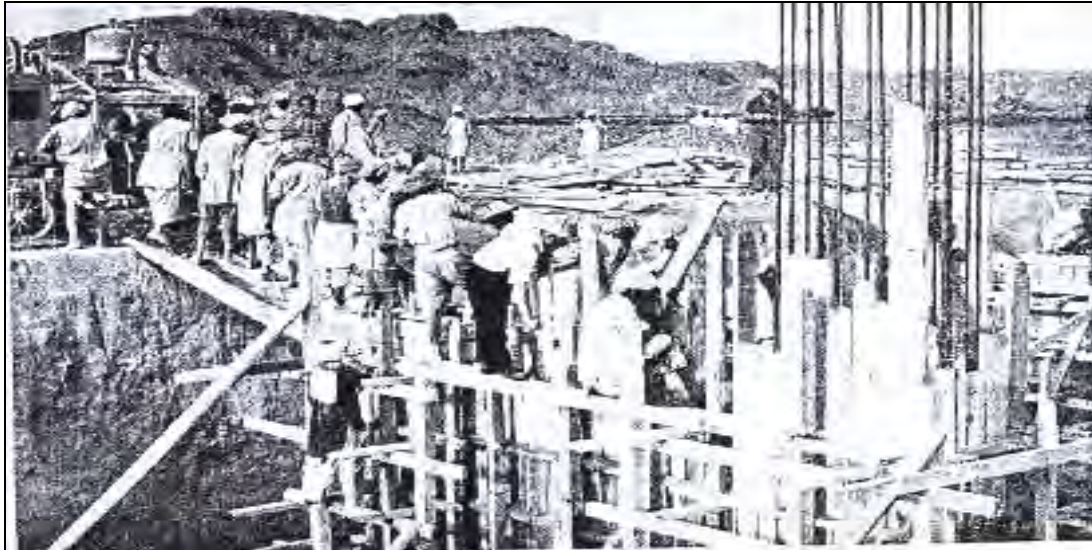


Figure 5.14. Jauharabad Sugar Factory (under construction) in Thal, 1954.

Source:- Pakistan 1953-54, Pakistan Publication, Karachi, pp. 159.

Twelve of the Industrial establishment had insufficient area and 117 were willing to shift to be better Industrial site. Mianwali Road, Katha Road and Sargodha Road were suggested as sites for future industrial development in order of preference by the Industrialists in 1978. An overwhelming majority of Industries, i.e. 130 units employed less than ten workers. Only seven units had employed more than ten workers. The existing industrial labour force in 1978 forms 4.7% of the population of the town.¹⁶⁴ Khushab is an old town in the area. It served a large hinter land in the Thal and Soon Valley. Of late some of its commercial load has been shared by the nearby town of Jauharabad. Still its commercial role in the area is of a major centre.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Pakistan 1953-54, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Statistics House, Islamabad, pp. 159.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

Table 5.12

Population Growth Khushab Town.

Census Year	Population	Variation	% Change
1901	11,403	--	--
1911	10,159	(-) 1,244	(-) 10.9
1921	10,009	(-) 150	(-) 1.5
1931	19,194	4,185	41.8
1941	17,141	2,947	20.8
1951	20,476	3,335	19.5
1961	24,851	4,375	21.4
1972	43,393	18,542	74.6

Source: Punjab, Housing and Physical planning, Khushab, 1974.

The above table shows that in two decades, i.e. from the year 1901-1911 and 1911-1921 population of the town decreased by 10.9 and 1.5% respectively. The reason for the decrease is said to be the devastation of the town by river floods on its right bank. After having been ruined by the floods people settled in other nearby town for the sake of safety. In the next five decades the population has increased. Natural increase in population, construction of bridge over river Jhelum in 1938, recession of river Jhelum from the town, creation of Thal Development Authority in the forties and subsequent installation of one sugar and three cotton mills near the town have been responsible for the increase in population.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ Pakistan 1953-54, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Statistics House, Islamabad, pp. 4.

5.11.2 District Mianwali and Bhakkar

Table 5.13

*Population Growth in Mianwali district*¹⁶⁷

Census year	Population	Variation in population	Percentage increase in population	Average annual percentage increase
1911	7064	--	--	--
1921	9115	6297	29.00	2.90
1931	15412	6297	62.1	6.20
1941	22825	7413	48.1	4.80
1951	23311	516	2.3	.20
1961	31398	8057	34.10	3.45
1972	78370	16972	51.05	4.91

Source: Punjab, Housing and Physical planning, Mianwali, 1974.

It can be noticed that there had been a very nominal increase of 29% during the decade 1911-21. However, a high rate of growth 62% and 48% was observed during the decades 1921-31 and 1931-41 respectively. This increase can be attributed to the creation of district Headquarters. The town got more importance and many people came to the city in connection with employment in government and other tertiary activities, when the civil administration started working at its full swing. Work on the *Thal* irrigation project was starting in 1939. This also contributed towards increase in the population during the decade 1931-41. The growth rate decreased considerably during the decade 1941-51 because migration of Hindus and Sikhs to India during partition of the sub-continent in the year 1947.

¹⁶⁷ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Mianwali, File No. 1584, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Mianwali, 1977, pp. 20.

The revolution in agriculture brought by irrigation of the Thal Canal, establishment of industries, development of mines, and construction of road network in the area especially the construction of the Muzaffargarh-Mianwali Road gave impetus to the economic development of the district of Mianwali. As a consequence Mianwali town became a Major trade centre of the district which resulted in the increase of population in Mianwali Town during the following decades.¹⁶⁸

At the time of partition Mianwali district was one of the most backward areas. There was not a single industrial unit worth mention in the whole of the district. Industrial Development in the district started in the year 1953 when P.I.D.C and T.D.A began to set up industries in the newly established Mandi town of Iskandar Abad (Daudkhel), Piplan (Liaqatabad) and Bhakkar (now district). At that time there are 8 large/medium scale industrial units in the district.

Service Industries were the only industries which were established themselves in the town with the exception of four stone crushing units established in the town. The details of industrial establishments in the town are given in table below:-

¹⁶⁸ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Mianwali, File No. 1584, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Mianwali, 1977, pp. 20.

Table 5.14

Industries in Mianwali from 1947 to 1977

Sr. No	Type of Industry	Nos. of Unites	Percentage of Total
1	Saw Machines	11	30.56
2	Furniture Houses	5	13.89
3	Flour Chakkies	5	22.22
4	Repair workshops	8	22.22
5	Stone crushing units	4	11.11
	Total	33	100

Source: Punjab, Housing and Physical planning, Mianwali, 1974.

A total area of 3.82 acres is occupied by all the 33 industries in the town. Saw machines and stone crushers account for an area of 3.47 acres leaving for the remaining 21 industrial units only an area of 0.35 acres.¹⁶⁹

Mianwali is a town without any regional character and as such the commercial activities in the town are of local nature. Most of the business is retail business. There is no specialized trade in it. The most important and interesting commercial centre is a Mela Ground which is situated on the western side of the city. Mianwali Town has 1126 commercial establishments apart from 54 rehires. Out of these shops 423 were food shops and 703 non-food shops. Only 39 shops were doing wholesale business in the city while the remaining 1807 were retail shops. Among the total whole-sale shops, 19 were located in the Grain Market, 2 in the fruit market and 9 in

¹⁶⁹ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Mianwali, File No. 1584, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Mianwali, 1977, pp. 17.

the Main Bazar while the remaining 9 shops were scattered on Katchery Road, Bullo Khel Road, etc.¹⁷⁰

Moreover, 804 shops were located in the central commercial zone whereas the remaining 322 shops were Mohalla shops. These Moahallah shops were fairly sporadic in their spatial distribution and may be termed as convenient shopping centers. At every street corner few shops was seen catering to the needs of the adjoining localities. The gross area under commercial use was 7.86 acres which was 0.31% of the total built up area of the town. 1903 persons were employed in the commercial establishment which constitute 3.21 % of the city's population and had a density of about 242 workers per acre. On the average it had a density of 143.25 shops per acre with an average area of 1.12 *Marlas* per shop.¹⁷¹

There was one shop for every 53 persons are about 1.9 shops per 100 persons on the average. The general standard was one shop/100 persons. Therefore, the existing shopping facilities in the town may be turned as more than sufficient. Central commercial area of the city was comprised of four bazaars i.e. Main Bazar, Katchery Road, Nan Bai Bazar and Guro Bazar.¹⁷² Mianwali is a typical town in the sense that it is surrounded, by P.A.F. On the south-east, Chashma Barrage bed in the south-west and river Indus bed in the western side of the city.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Mianwali, File No. 1584, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Mianwali, 1977, pp. 20.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid., pp. 8.

¹⁷³ Ibid., pp. 35.

Industry forms a very sound economic base for the existence and support of a city. Mianwali Town has no large/medium scale industrial unit at present. Past industrial development study conducted by Regional Development plan Sargodha reveals striking imbalances within industrial sector of Sargodha Region.¹⁷⁴ The industrial growth has been unplanned and unguided with the result that some of the areas like Mianwali Town have remained deprived of industrial growth. Therefore, regional development plan Sargodha recommends to disperse industries to areas hitherto remaining neglected in order to achieve the ideal of industrial balanced growth in the region. It further suggests that in order to check serious economic repercussion further concentration of industry around big cities/Towns like Faisalabad be strictly controlled and possible measures in shape of fiscal and monetary policies be introduced to give the deprived areas like, Jhang, Mianwali and Sargodha possibilities of establishing small industrial estates.¹⁷⁵

Mianwali has good potentials for industrial development. They are cotton ginning, Textiles, Mechanized Tannery, Oil expellers, Soap industry and Poultry etc. As far as Mianwali Town is concerned the existing industrial activities are at the very initial stage and have wholly been limited to service industries. The labour force increased from 11, in 1947 to 139, in 1977, registered an average increase of 4.27% per annum. The estimated population of Mianwali Town in 1977 was 59270. Therefore, the labour force of 139 workers was 0.24% of total population of Mianwali Town till 1977. It was 2.2% and 7.8% in Sahiwal and Gujranawala Towns respectively. The recommended industrial employment for these towns was 5.5% and 9.5% of the total

¹⁷⁴ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Mianwali, File No. 1584, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Mianwali, 1977, pp. 35.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

population respectively. This shows a low industrial participation rate in Mianwali as compared to other towns in Punjab and thereby high dependency on the economically active population with consequent serious under utilization of manpower resources. Resultantly lack of job opportunities in the town was resulted in disguised as well as open unemployment.¹⁷⁶

An industrial estate having an area of 140 is situated between Mianwali Kalabagh road and Thal canal across the railway level crossing on Mianwali-Kalabagh road. A list of feasible industries which had the potentials to develop on the locally available raw materials was Cotton ginning, Textiles, Mechanized tannery, Oil expellers, Soap industry, Poultry and livestock products, “*Dal*” Factories, Flour Mill, Carpets, Pottery, Leather shoe factories, Mats, Sugar Mills, Saw factories, Stone crushing industry, Paper/board plant, Pulp making plants.¹⁷⁷

5.12 Agricultural Development in Sargodha Division

Nearly 70 per cent of the refugee population of Pakistan belongs to the agricultural community. The bulk of these people arrived in the Provinces of the Punjab and Sindh during 1947-48. They were at once given temporary allotments of land and assisted by loans, maintenance allowances, etc. In 1950, the Rehabilitation Settlement Scheme giving the allottees provisional permanent rights was brought out. Settlement operations were finalized in 18,245 towns, disposing of 1,014,073 claims, covering an evacuee area of 3,094,951 acres. In this way more than 85 per cent of this resettlement completed in the Punjab. In Baluchistan the refugee claimants was

¹⁷⁶ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Mianwali, File No. 1584, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Mianwali, 1977, pp. 42.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

granted provincial-permanent rights over evacuee land. The scheme has made satisfactory progress in the Province of Sind. The state of Bahawalpur and Khairpur and the province of the North-West Frontier, as well as Karachi, are also taking action to implement it.¹⁷⁸

There is no doubt that on account of incoming refugees exceeding those who left the country, there was now considerable shortage of agricultural land in West Pakistan and a great shortage in East Bengal. Before partition a bulk of the 3.5 millions cultivate their lands with their own hand and there form a class of peculiarly willing and self reliant workers. They set the pace of agriculture operations and the standard of industry.¹⁷⁹ Efforts were being made to reclaim new land in the Punjab and Sind. But reclamation of new land was a comparatively slow process, especially in the Province of Sind where a big Barrage Scheme was undertaken to reclaim an area of 2 million acres of which 1.7 million acres would be virgin land. The rehabilitation of the agricultural refugees, who was not so far been settled, largely depended on the progress and result of scheme. The problem in East Bengal was even more difficult. There was already great pressure on land on account of a very high density of population. There was no evacuee property there and the increased in population made the situation worse than before.¹⁸⁰

The government of Pakistan established the Agricultural Development Finance Corporation. The Corporation commenced business in March 1953, and was

¹⁷⁸ Pakistan 1953-54, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Statistics House, Islamabad, pp. 197.

¹⁷⁹ Five years of provincial autonomy in the Punjab 1937-42, File No. E-1(7), Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1943, pp. 46.

¹⁸⁰ Pakistan 1953-54, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Statistics House, Islamabad, pp. 197.

providing credit facilities to agriculturists for the development of agriculture and agricultural products (horticulture, forestry, fisheries, animal husbandry, poultry keeping and dairy farming) including provision of mechanical equipment for mechanization of farming, provision of water-lifting equipment, provision of tractor stations, production and distribution of chemical and other fertilizers, establishment of stores or *godoms* for keeping implements, seeds or other agricultural products, provision of embankments, water-courses and drainage, reclamation, elimination of agricultural pests and taking measures against water logging, purchases and distribution of agricultural implements and cattle breeding etc.¹⁸¹ To help raise agricultural production, the government in 1961 established semi-autonomous Agricultural Development Corporations in each of the provinces, and assigned them two main functions: to organize the supplies needed by the farmers and to provide them with technical knowledge. Recognizing the need to provide for ourselves the necessary technical skills in the vital sector of our country's economy, two agricultural Universities, one at Mymensingh in East Pakistan and the other at Lyallpur (Faisalabad) in West Pakistan, were established in 1961.¹⁸²

Loans were given ordinarily in kind but cash loans can also be granted by the corporation at its discretion. Loans can be sanctioned up to a limit of Rs. 100,000 in the case of individuals and Rs. one million in the case of a company or cooperative Society. These limits can be relaxed by government up to Rs. 200,000 and Rs. 2 million respectively for special reasons. The Corporation had its Head Office at Karachi and there Regional Offices at Sukkur, Lahore and Dacca to Cater to the

¹⁸¹ Pakistan 1953-54, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Statistics House, Islamabad, pp. 197.

¹⁸² Ibid., 36.

requirements of various units of the country. The problems of agricultural credit in the country were vast, varied and complex. The Corporation was expanding its operation with care and caution if it is to establish itself as a sound and strong credit institution. The Corporation in the very first year of its operations sanctioned loans of over Rs. 2.5 million to 530 agricultural concerns.¹⁸³ In early fifties the government of Pakistan sanctioned loans worth over 50 million to West Punjab for its various development project and Rs. 2,500,000 had also been allotted for agricultural development.¹⁸⁴

It was estimated that Pakistan loosed 27 *lakhs* of non-agriculturists and obtain 35 *lakhs* non-agriculturists from the East Punjab (India) so the Pakistan non-agriculturists population was increased by 8 *lakh*. And just at a time when our economy had been shattered by the flight of capitalists, technical experts, clerks, etc, who was replaced, if at all, only to a very small extent by new comers from the East.¹⁸⁵ Attempts were naturally made to absorb refugees as far as possible into their appropriate professions, but the implementation of this plan was no means simple, since the composition of the populations exchanged differ gretly, displaced agriculturalists from the East Punjab far outnumber the non-Muslim farmers who left the province and and additional difficulty lies in the fact tht in a number of cases

¹⁸³ Pakistan 1953-54, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Statistics House, Islamabad, pp. 34-35.

¹⁸⁴ Development of Economy of Pakistan, File No. 142/165, TNA, UK, 1950.

¹⁸⁵ Proceedings and other Paper Related to Joint Refugees and Rehabilitation Council, File No. 803, National Archives, Islamabad, pp. 25.

abandoned land was annexed by local landowners or secured by the refugees without the necessary agricultural experience to make full use of their new property.¹⁸⁶

For the Province as a whole these statements given the following results, on the assumption that all Hindus and Sikhs leave the West Punjab and all Muslims leave the East Punjab and the Punjab States. The West Punjab has to receive 59.26 *lakhs* people against only 38.8 *lakhs* who will go to the East Punjab, i.e. the West Punjab has to receive, house and rehabilitate 21.18 *lakhs* people in excess of those that it loses. The excess in the case of agriculturists is 13.10 *lakhs* and in the case of non-agriculturists 8.8 *lakhs*. The latter figure is composed of an excess of 6.93 *lakhs* of rural non-agriculturists and of 1.15 *lakhs* of urban non-agriculturists. So that if every man who lived in a town in the East Punjab settled in a town in the West Punjab and everyone who lived in a village in the East Punjab settled in a village in the West Punjab, the urban population of the West Punjab would increase by 1.15 *lakhs* and the rural population would increase by 20.3 *lakhs*. The result of the migration will be to increase the population of the West Punjab from 172.46 *lakhs* to 193.64 *lakhs* and to reduce the population of the East Punjab and the States from 189.68 *lakhs* to 168.50 *lakhs*.¹⁸⁷ If percentages are considered, then if everyone took up the same occupation in the West Punjab as he followed in the East Punjab and lived as he did before either in the town or the country, the agricultural population would increase by 22.5% and the non-agricultural population by 7.8%. The urban population would

¹⁸⁶ Review of Events in Pakistan 1947-1948, File No. DO 142/22, TNA, UK, 1948 see also Copies of Confidential Review of events in Pakistan compiled by the Commonwealth Relations, File No. Mss Eur D1033/15, The British Library, United Kingdom, 1948.

¹⁸⁷ Papers related to Refugees Rehabilitation, File No. 804, The National Archives, Islamabad, 1950, pp. 2.

increase by 4.16% and the rural population by 13.83%. The total population of the West Punjab would increase by 12.28%.¹⁸⁸

In Sargodha, the economy was seriously dislocated after the migration as the non-Muslims were mostly middlemen, clerical official, shopkeepers and on the other hand, the majority of Muslims who migrated were poor peasants and they also were not much expert in the field of agriculture. Before discussing about the impact of refugees on the agricultural sector in Sargodha Region, we must know about the distribution of Refugees by districts according to their original professions.

Table 5.15

*Distribution of Refugees by districts according to their original professions in Sargodha division (Figure in Lakh)*¹⁸⁹

District	Cultivators including owner	Non Cultivators					Total	Grand Total
		Shop keepers	Technician	Artisans	Public servants	Labourers		
Sargodha & Khushab	1.14	0.21	0.11	0.11	0.15	.11	0.69	1.83
Mianwali & Bhakkar	0.3	0.1	--	--	0.3	--	0.4	0.7

Source: Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1947.

¹⁸⁸ Papers related to Refugees Rehabilitation, File No. 804, National Archives, Islamabad, 1950, pp. 2.

¹⁸⁹ Statistics of Resettlement of Refugees in West Punjab with the Compliment of the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, File No. 188, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1948, pp. 11.

The numbers of agriculturist refugees who settled in Sargodha district after migration. The following statement shows that at the time of partition, 4, 60,000 agriculturist people were in the Sargodha district. (Figures in *lakhs*)

Table 5.16

Agricultural Refugee in Sargodha

No. of Agriculturists before migration	Increase in No. of Agriculturists by migration	No. of evacuee Agriculturists	No. of refugees that could be accommodated	No. of Agriculturists after migration
3.83	.86	.41	1.27	4.60

Source: Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1948.

According to the above tables it is clear that the in compare to the other district i.e Khushab, Mianwali and Bhakkar the Sargodha district absorbed the more refugees. Moreover it also shows that the agricultural statistical figure in Sargodha district is more than the other district in Sargodha Region. For this purpose I go throw the detail crops figures bowing in Sargodha to show the agricultural development. There are two types of crops, Rabi Crops and Kharif Crops. The main Rabi crops that grow in the district are Wheat, Gram, Fruit, and Vegetables. The main Kharif crops that grow in the district are Cotton, Paddy, Sugarcane, Maize and Vegetable. Fruits are also produced by this district. Kino (*Malta*) is a famous product of this district which not only consumed in Pakistan but also liked in the whole world.¹⁹⁰

Wheat is the staple food of the majority of the population in Pakistan. The following table shows the detailed production of the wheat in Sargodha district. In Sargodha district, the total acres that are cultivated for only wheat are 410. At the time of

¹⁹⁰ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 136.

independence, the production of the wheat was 175.3 M. Tons and this production increased with the passage of time as the following table shows all the details regarding the cultivation of wheat crop in Sargodha.¹⁹¹

Table 5.17

*Area of Wheat crops that Cultivated in Sargodha after partition*¹⁹²

Year	Area(acres)	Production (M. Tons)
1947-1948	410	175.3
1950-1951	540	233.9
1955-1956	561	207.2
1960-1961	602	230.9
1965-1966	624	211.4
1970-1971	767	346.6
1975-1976	683	416.4
1980-1981	689	399.37
1981-1982	705	4722.32

Source: Un-Published district Gazetteer Sargodha, 1984.

Gram is another major rabbi crop of the area. Due to rise in ground water, this crop is going towards decline. In Sargodha district, the total acres that were cultivated for gram were 107 Acres soon after the independence. After the independence from Sargodha district, the production of the gram was 21.7 M. Tons and this production

¹⁹¹ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 145.

¹⁹² Ibid. pp. 137.

increased with the passage of time as the following table shows all the details regarding the cultivation of gram in Sargodha.¹⁹³

Table 5.18

*Area of Gram Crops that Cultivated in Sargodha after partition*¹⁹⁴

Year	Area(acres)	Production (M. Tons)
1947-1948	107	21.7
1950-1951	357	98.0
1955-1956	371	78.9
1960-1961	423	80.1
1965-1966	453	70.40
1970-1971	370	69.9
1975-1976	565	118.3
1980-1981	550	80.80
1981-1982	580	66.30

Source: Un-Published district Gazetteer Sargodha, 1984.

For the increase in the growth of crops, the government of Pakistan launched a 'Provincial Board'. This board was set up to saw the problems that had been faced by the peasants like water requirement, availability of seeds, fertilizers etc. The table below reveals that cotton crop has shown on upward trend in yield in Sargodha district due to the role played by the Agriculture Extension Wing under the Training and Visit System increased tendency to use inorganic fertilizers, improved seed varieties and modern agricultural practices are other contributing factors. Per acre

¹⁹³ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 137.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 138

average yield and production during the period between 1947 and 1976 is given below.¹⁹⁵

Table 5.19

*Area of Cotton crops that cultivated in Sargodha after partition*¹⁹⁶

Year	Area(acres)	Production (M. Tons)
1947-48	191	76.3
1950-1951	162	91.2
1955-1956	213	109
1960-1961	212	108.4
1965-1966	242	116.6
1970-1971	187	103.0
1975-1976	153	72.8

Source: Un-Published district Gazetteer Sargodha, 1984.

The introduction of new hybrid and synthetic varieties like Neelum, Akbar played a vital role in the crop production and increase in the yield of maize in Sargodha district. This was possible only because of supervised cultivation of maize; use of inputs and price incentives given by the government are also responsible for its increased production. The yield of maize has almost doubled during the period.¹⁹⁷ In Sargodha district, the total areas that are cultivated for Maize were 32 soon after the independence. After the independence, the production of the Maize in Sargodha district is 10.2 M. Tons and this production is increasing with the passage of time as

¹⁹⁵ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 139.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 140.

the following table shows all the details regarding the cultivation of Maize in Sargodha.¹⁹⁸

Table 5.20

*Area of Maize crops that Cultivated in Sargodha after partition*¹⁹⁹

Year	Area(acres)	Production (M. Tons)
1947-1948	32.0	10.2
1950-1951	31.0	12.0
1955-1956	43.0	15.3
1960-1961	48.0	14.0
1965-1966	48.5	17.3
1970-1971	64.0	28.6
1975-1976	56	30.0

Source: Un-Published district Gazetteer Sargodha, 1984.

Due to twin menace of water-logging and salinity in Sargodha, the cotton crop is being gradually replaced by rice crop. The introduction of high yielding varieties like Irr-6 and Ks-282 and adoption of improved technology are the factors responsible for high yields of rice. A perusal of table below reveals a more than 50% increase during the last ten years. There is also no immediate threat to this crop as it is yet safe from pests etc. This factor also helps in increasing the per acre yield of rice.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 140.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 141.

Table 5.21

*Area of Rice crops that Cultivated in Sargodha after partition*²⁰¹

Year	Area(acres)	Production (M. Tons)
1947-1948	9	2.3(Rice)
1950-1951	16	4.8
1955-1956	19	5.5
1960-1961	26	9.3
1965-1966	34.8	13.6
1970-1971	48.0	32.3
1975-76	75	44.64

Source: Un-Published district Gazetteer Sargodha, 1984.

Sugarcane is the main source for the production of sugar in our country. For this purpose, special attention paid to this crop to meet the challenges of shortfall of sugar. In Sargodha district, the total acres that cultivated for Sugarcane were 16 soon after the independence. After the independence, the production of the sugarcane from Sargodha district is 25.9 M. Tons and this production is increasing with the passage of time as the following table shows all the details regarding the cultivation of sugarcane in Sargodha.²⁰²

²⁰¹ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 141.

²⁰² Ibid., pp. 142.

Table 5.22

*Area of Sugarcane crops that cultivated in Sargodha after partition*²⁰³

Year	Area(acres)	Production (M. Tons)
1947-48	16	25.9
1950-1951	19	27.9
1955-1956	28	41.6
1960-1961	42	62.2
1965-1966	67.9	1056.7
1970-1971	111.0	1970.0
1975-1976	107.0	1708.0
1980-1981	100.4	1630.32
1981-1982	123.0	1997.0

Source: Un-Published district Gazetteer Sargodha, 1984.

If we discuss about the fruits in Sargodha, then the only fruit '*Kinno*' or orange came to our minds. In Sargodha, due to citrus production, it is known as California of West Punjab.²⁰⁴ The Sargodha district is famous for citrus fruit. It is a landmark of Sargodha in the country. A great variety of citrus has been cultivated in Sargodha. It has following types Mussami, Mandrine, Clamandrines, Tangerines, Lemon-orange and Spanish Variety (its further classified into two kinds) i.e Shamber and Red Blus. A total of 40% orange that generates in Sargodha district is exported to many countries like Russia, Ukraine, Gulf Countries, Philippine, Singapore, Malaysia,

²⁰³ Un-Published District Gazetteer of Sargodha, Office of the District Coordinator, Sargodha, 1984, pp. 142.

²⁰⁴ Awan, M. I, *Sargodha mai Muslim Siyasat 1907-1947* (in urdu). Faisalabad: Miasl publisher, 2004, pp. 23.

United Kingdom, Canada.²⁰⁵ Till 1995, the total cultivation of citrus in Pakistan is 190.7 hectares in which the alone the growth of Punjab is 180.7 hectares.²⁰⁶

5.13 Thal Project

The Thal is sandy desert covering a wide area of about five million acres. The idea of irrigating Thal with waters from the neighbouring river Indus suggested itself to canal engineers in the Punjab many years ago. It was however, postponed from time to time in favour of other irrigation schemes until 1939 when the construction of the Thal Project was started. For the irrigation of the whole area of Thal some 16,000 cusecs of water were needed but Sindh had objected to the withdrawal of so much water from the Indus. The Punjab had therefore, to content itself with a scheme of withdrawing only 6,000 causes which would irrigate about 1,666,000 acres. On the basis of this modified scheme a barrage, now known as the Jinnah Barrage, and party of the main canal were completed before partition.²⁰⁷

Among schemes of economic development was in progress in the Punjab the biggest and most important was the Thal Project. It was indeed in of the biggest projects of its kind being executed anywhere in the world today and scores of foreign, experts had admired the vastness of its scope and the brilliancy of its execution. On completion it promises to increase the annual production of agricultural wealth in this province by no less than Rs. 8 *crors*. This figure had been worked out by experts

²⁰⁵ Kinow Export Development Strategy, Small & Medium Enterprise Development Authority Government of Pakistan, 1982, pp. 32.

²⁰⁶ Agricultural Statistics of Pakistan 2011-12, Government of Pakistan Ministry of National Food Security and Research (Economic Wing) Islamabad, 2012, pp. 89.

²⁰⁷ The Punjab, A Review of the First Three Years (August 1947 to August 1950), File No. EI -8, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1950, pp. 16.

of the International Bank on an admittedly conservative basis of calculation. The period allowed originally for the colonization of the area concerned had been reduced in the latest plans by about ten years, so that the whole of this area was expected to be under cultivation and the target outputs of at least some of the main crops to be reached within the next three or four years.²⁰⁸. The following figure shows that Mr. Eugene Blacker President of the World Bank visits Thal for the development of irrigation system in Pakistan.



Figure 5.15. International co-operation helped Thal, 1959.

Source:- International Co-operation helped Thal, Mr. Eugene Blacker President of the World Bank visits Thal, File No. INF 10/260, TNA, UK, 1959-1960.

The Thal Project was a combination of two gigantic schemes-one of the spreading of a network of canals over an area of some two million acres in the desert of Thal and the other of populating this area and giving it a social life based on a balanced and harmonious economy of agriculture, trade and industry. A vast burning desert of

²⁰⁸ The Punjab, A Review of the First Three Years (August 1947 to August 1950), File No. EI -8, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1950, pp. 16.

sand dunes and dust storms, hitherto waterless and lifeless, is thus being converted into a big colony of rich crops happy and prosperous villages and busy market towns. The effort was already shown remarkable results. About three hundred villages came into being where there was not a blade of grass had ever grown are now under cultivation and yielding bumper crops. New town designed models of modern amenities were also being built at surprising speed.²⁰⁹

Before showing these results the Thal Projects had no pass through a long history of delays, difficulties and failures. The first obstacle was a dispute with Sindh over the use of Indus water which eventually resulted in a compromise which allowed the Punjab to withdraw 6,000 cusecs of water from the river. This would suffice to irrigate only about 15 *lakh* out of the Thal's total area of about five million acres. The present project will, therefore, cover only a little more than two million acres. Of this about 1½ million acres will be put under crops and the rest utilized for village sites, townships, beds of roads and such other purposes.²¹⁰

Following the decision about the amount of water to be withdrawn the construction of a barrage and canal head works was started in 1939. After its completion further work had to be suspended owing to difficulties created by the war. It was resumed some time later but had not made much headway when partition came and for a variety of reasons gave new urgency to the problems of expanding the agricultural resources of the province. Work was therefore, starting once again on the proposed canals and carried out at high pressure. The irrigation projects contemplated the

²⁰⁹ The Punjab, A Review of the First Three Years (August 1947 to August 1950), File No. EI -8, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1950, pp. 16.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

constructions of 230 miles of main and branch canals and 1,630 miles of distributaries and minors. The total length of the former and over 1,200 miles of the latter have been completed. The bed and sides of 180 miles of the main and branch canals lined with brick to prevent the evil of excessive seepage of water. Nearly 1,000 miles of the distributaries channels opened for irrigation and the rest are ready. The percentage of area put under crops is 25 per cent, which is in accordance with the forecast of development for this project. The main canal is designed to take a maximum discharge of 6,000 cusecs. It was possible to run as much as 5,000 cusecs during this summer, and this was expected to greatly increase the irrigation figures of Thal. While the irrigation side of the project was to be completed till 1954 and the overall progress was already ahead of schedule.²¹¹

The other side of the project-colonization was really the delaying factor for quite over two years after partition the method of offering land and irrigation facilities to refugee peasants and leaving them to develop their lands was tried but did not prove very successful. These refugees did not possess then necessary resources to build any kind of shelter for themselves or to buy seed or bullocks and wait for the results of their labours. The conditions of life too in an utterly desolate desert were wholly unattractive. Some encouraging pioneer-work was done by the Pakistan Army. A certain portion of the area had been reserved for providing new homes for Pakistan soldiers whose families had been uprooted from India. Backed by the resources of their regimental organizations, these soldiers moved their refugee families into the reserved '*chaks*' and braved the initial difficulties. On the civilian side, however, the

²¹¹ The Punjab, A Review of the First Three Years (August 1947 to August 1950), File No. EI -8, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1950, pp. 16.

scheme of colonization languished and the prospects of its early success were none too bright. Then the Punjab government enacted a law in July 1949 for the constitution of a public corporation to start on its own the development of Thal and carry the process to a point at which settlers would feel attracted to take it up.²¹²

The public corporation, named the Thal Development Authority was constituted on 29 August 1949 and given powers not only of operating on government land but also of acquiring privately owned lands in Thal so as to develop the area as a whole. It took some time to prepare elaborate and detailed maps of proposed villages, towns, forests, seeds farms, cattle farms, roads, etc, in Thal and actual operations started on the spot early in 1950. Land was taken up block by block, demarcated into *chaks* and broken up with the help of tractors and other modern machines. As soon as a block of land was ready for sowing operations a batch of previously selected settlers was brought and each individual settler put in possession of an area of 15 acres, which he started sowing almost at once.²¹³

5.14 Conclusion

The analysis of this chapter includes the detailed study of Sargodha Region's socio and economic post-independence development. It reveals the extent of the refugee impact and how different classes and categories of refugees were accommodated. This study has revealed the multi faced complex and contrasting experiences of a new axiom in development of Sargodha Region since 1947. No doubt the migration

²¹² The Punjab, A Review of the First Three Years (August 1947 to August 1950), File No. EI -8, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1950, pp. 16.

²¹³ The Punjab, A Review of the First Six Years (August 1947 to August 1953), File No. EI -10, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1953, pp. 7-9.

of refugees in Sargodha Region generated new class of work, the new comers had different experiences, different skills in comparison with refugees of India. Various dimensions of refugee settlement in Sargodha are highlighted vigorously. The social mix of refugees to the new society had profound impacts on the division. Keeping the social mixes into account the intermarriages of 'refugees and locals are still condemned to a great deal. Still it is considered that prejudice and narrow-mindedness in the cities of Sargodha is of less gravity as compare to other cities of Pakistan. The role of education in diverting the society from hypocrisy to a new era of moderate enlightenment has changed radical face of Sargodha division.

The refugees from upper Punjab were professionally Agriculturalist since their ancestral heritage belongs to the lands and farming. After the settlement of these agriculturist refugees to Sargodha division, the fertile plains of Sargodha were revolutionized and termed as land mark of green revolution later on. Exploring the plains of Sargodha, some barrens hindered the progressive shift of Sargodha like Khushab and Bhakkar including some uncultivable area of Mianwali is termed as 'Thal Dessert'. The infertility of these areas resulted a passive shift in the wake of agricultural progress. 'Thal Development Authority' has contributed efficiently in the treatment of land salinity but the richness of land fertility left by the refugees had captivated their intellects. The charms and aroma of departed Indian lands had casted a deep blow on the minds of settlers since decades.

The patterns of settlement in Sargodha region on the rehabilitation of refugees have two folds: there was an 'urgency status' claimed on the issuance of relief and rehabilitation to the refugees of Punjab that have to be labeled as 'immediate' and

‘urgent’, secondly, the refugees gained full sympathies within the local community and also among the political parties who were leading those multi-dimensional mass of displaced. Keeping in account the early formulation of the rehabilitation program, it was a well-organized and well-planned one. While chalking out the phases that constitute the process of rehabilitation three eminent phases are disclosed: evacuation (the early years of partition i-e 1948), the relief measures (the upcoming years of partition i-e 1950), and finally the permanent rehabilitation (eventually done by 1955).

For the proper rehabilitation these stages should be impasse in a colorful mix and match scheme. That holds that for a skillful professional refugee the stage should be set in accordance with his skills either vocational or educational one. Likewise for an agriculturist the fertile land was the best option to cope with. But a newly built economically torn and financially clenched state it was impossible to provide the said resources. This inadequacy of resources spoiled the abilities of refugees who left their land, homes, relatives and all the belongings for the slogan of peaceful homeland for their upcoming generations. Sargodha was a land of “peace” ideally located with the water of lakes and fertility of soil the ratio of Hindu-Muslim riots were at minimal level as compared to other areas of Punjab. The pre settled locality of Sargodha were very much communicative with the resident Hindus and Sikhs who had been their neighbors for decades their immediate evacuation created a gap for the left over.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The partition of the subcontinent was an inevitable factor that led to the formation of two independent states: India and Pakistan. Both the Hindus and Muslims remained adamant to their respective Nationalist Theories: Hindu and Muslim Nationalism, respectively. Owing to the partition, both the communities demarcated their geographical lines of separation. Both the communities could never mix up in the wake of different religions as the teachings of Hinduism were totally in clash with that of Islam. The Muslims were '*maleechs*' for Hindus and the later were '*kafirs*' for the former. Furthermore, both the communities belonged to different cultures. A strong clash existed in their way of eating, marriages, way of living, education, language, households and the main thing was the sharp difference in practicing religious rituals. In short, the Hindus and Muslims were destined to be at daggers drawn to pinch each other at every available instant. History bears the testimony that they only cooperated with each other when their own religious beliefs were in danger. They offered combined resistance against alien forces only when their interests matched. In a nutshell, they never came close to each other religiously or culturally. Finally, a day came when Muslims of the sub-continent overthrew their religious, political, economic and psychological insecurities leading the formation of an Islamic States.

By 1947, the animosity between the Hindus and Muslims had grown to such an extent that the latter were not ready to yield before the former expect for the partition. Resultantly, the land of pure, Pakistan, appeared on the map of the world on 14 August 1947. Soon after the independence, the process of large-scale

migration started. Along with numerous others factors of migration, there were three main factors behind the migration. First, it was the natural consequence of the partition of the sub-continent. Secondly, it was the Radcliffe award that was responsible for the world's massive human displacement that history ever witnessed. Finally, the ideological riots that extended to the whole sub-continent contributed much to the forced migration. From both the sides, many atrocities committed with the refugees. However, the Muslims refugees suffer greatly.

The segment of India in August 1947 was the most vital occasion in the subcontinent's cutting edge history. The occasion was set apart by one of the biggest re-locations of the twentieth century, and around eighteen million individuals were dislodged. Appraisals of the loss of life fluctuate from between 200,000 up to 1,000,000. In excess of ten million Punjabies were evacuated alone at division time. The Pakistan Punjab Region i.e Sargodha Region shared the brunt of the 1947 change. They endured across the board revolt decimation, statistic move and financial change at the division of the Punjab. Their mechanical concerns were surrendered or shut as a result of the relatively add up to relocation of the Hindu and Sikh exchanging and business class to India.

In the meantime, Sargodha division got a substantial number of Muslim displaced people relatively got more than two fold the quantity of outcasts that left, mostly from the Jallunder, Amristar and Ambala. This Region subsequently gives great contextual investigations to an examination of the separation brought by division and for a comprehension of how restoration and modern recuperation occurred. The issues of finding both settlement and work and in addition tending to abilities holes

in the locale were huge. The post-segment advancement in Sargodha Region is especially huge as it's assuming an overwhelming part in the local, national and to a lesser degree universal economy. Not standing the current advances of recorded understanding in regards to the 1947 savagery, particularly as far as its association, its correct culprits are typically dim. This postulation is speaking to a vital commitment to learning by revealing out of the blue genuine culprits of the brutality, and financial improvement in the district.

The opening chapter investigated the partition of subcontinent which was more about the disappointment of the British than the accomplishment of the Indians. English separated the subcontinent into two domains under incredible weight of the general population of India. There were three main explanations for the savagery that emitted because of the relocation. To begin with, it was the connivance brought forth in the brains of both the Hindu pioneers and the British veterans to give a brief span of only 72 days for the segment after the declaration of 3 June 1947. Also, it was the award of Radcliffe that was in charge of the mass migration. At last, it was the imperfect arranging of the emissary of Lord Mountbatten that added to the tragedies of the vagrants.

The boundary commission also violated the principle of fair play through its unjust demarcation of Punjab and Bengal. A number of Muslim majority areas like Gurdaspur and Ferozepore were given to India. This led to mass migration of Muslims coupled with the migration of Hindus and Sikhs. However, Muslims suffered greatly as most of their areas where they were in a majority as well as the areas contiguous to Pakistan were also entitled to India in order to weaken Pakistan

from its very inception. All this resulted in a grave humanitarian crisis where Hindus and Sikhs inflicted maximum harm to the Muslims. So, the later left their homes, land and businesses and joined the migrating caravans towards Pakistan.

The state of Junagadh that was a Hindu majority area, decided to join Pakistan, but Indian government took over its territories by force and put the Muslims at risk to communal riots. Similarly, in Kashmir, there were nearly 85% Muslims but when its Hindu maharajah decided to join India, a fighting broke out in the state. These incidents further pushed the massive flow of refugees into Pakistan. In spite of facing the tremendous pressure of refugees, the Muslims of the sub-continent were truly very happy because the dream of a separate homeland that once seemed to be unfulfilled had been materialized. They had won their required destination. Now, they could cherish the fruits of freedom after a long struggle. For them, “Pakistan” was a place where they could lead their life with full religious freedom in accordance with the teachings of Islam.

Partition was the intelligent outcome of the British approach of gap and run the show. For Pakistanis, it had a tendency to be viewed as a satisfaction of the 'two-country hypothesis' which comprehended the Indian Muslim and Hindu people group as being completely isolated from each other by religion and social practice. Official chronicles see a straight movement from the establishment of the Muslim League in 1906 to the making of Pakistan, or by and large, to the dissident legislative issues of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in the late nineteenth century. Accomplishment in accomplishing the Indian Muslims' 'unavoidable dissenter fate' is credited to the

pretended by the Muslim League pioneer, the invulnerable Quaid-I-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

After achieving their ultimate goal by the creation of Pakistan, the Muslims of sub-continent faced a massive migration from both sides i.e. East and West Punjab. It was a natural consequence of the partition but had the Radcliff Award been just and fair, the Muslims would not have been suffered at the hands of Sikhs and Hindus. This great tragedy in the history with ruthless massacring of the Muslims of sub-continent resulted in absolute collapse of the new societies. They were destroyed with hammers, swords, hockey sticks, daggers, bamboos and bricks and all other weapons that they found in their hands. Women were raped and dishonored, men were slaughtered, even the newly-born infants and the young children were not spared of death. The job of killing, looting and abduction of women was seen in every place whether it was Muslim population or that of non-Muslims, their properties were plundered if they were in minorities. In short, during the crucial phase of partition, everyone was affected either directly or indirectly. Nearly half a million people died within a few months of partition.

There were three chief reasons behind the violence that erupted as a result of the migration. First, it was the conspiracy hatched in minds of both the Hindu leaders and the British veterans to give a short time of just 72 days for the partition after the announcement of June 3, 1947. Secondly, it was the unjust Radcliffe award that was responsible for the migration. Finally, it was the flawed planning of the viceroy of Lord Mountbatten that contributed to the miseries of the refugees. Just before the partition of India in 1947, many parts of India witnessed the worst scenes of Hindu-

Muslim riots. The Eastern Punjab was particularly fully charged with anti-Muslim sentiments. In areas where Muslims were in a minority, a large number of Muslims were killed and their villages were destroyed. The Muslim women were stripped off and dishonoured and even their children were not spared of death. Under these circumstances, the Muslims of the subcontinent had no option but to seek refuge in a safe place and as a consequence, they migrated into Pakistan on large scale to escape the violence of Hindus.

The birth of Pakistan and specially the independence from British is marked with jubilation in sub-continent but it seems that only Punjab paid all the credit for this independence because in Punjab, millions of innocent people killed and millions were forced for evacuation. In the words of Collins and Lapierre, “the predominant colour of the dawn of freedom breaking over its ancient vistas was not purple and gold but crimson”. The communities in the Punjab which were in minority seized with horror and fear. In a reply to the cruelties of the Hindus and Sikhs, the Muslims of the West Pakistan also forced the non-Muslims to leave Pakistan. They were also butchered and tortured.

When the communal situation on both sides went out of control, then these two governments came on the idea to transfer these people on some principles. Both the communities irrespective of their religion killed and robbed each other. For the safe arrival of people from both sides, accommodation in camps and further settlement in cities or towns of their new country, an official policy was adopted. It is assumed that this tremendous task of evacuation could only be based when all the non-Muslims would leave for East Punjab and all the Muslims community would leave for West

Punjab. The Military Evacuation Organizations (MEO) of both governments were immediately formed after the partition. These MEOs escorted the refugees of their co-religionists to cross the boundaries. Nearly, 4.68 million refugees had arrived in Pakistan from the period of 14 August 1947 to 10 December 1947. Out of these 4.68 million, 3.92 million refugees were evacuated by the Military Evacuee Organization (MEO). And the same organization established by the India to ensure close cooperation between these two Military Evacuee Organizations, their Headquarter was set up in Lahore.

The partition tragedy explored the tyranny of refugee movement, how the enactment of this tragedy took place is minutely stated in this chapter. The province of Punjab was cradle of violence “three-quarters of a million killed”. The migration of Muslims towards Pakistan from those Muslims majority areas created burdens of economic as well as social depravedness. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah stated on partition plan that it is clear that the plan does not meet in all respect our legal point of view and we cannot say that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the plan. An expert committee was formulated to safeguard the rights of two future governments that later proved fail to provide justice.

14 August 1947 marked the fierce controversy an end; but it also marked the beginning of what was literally an ordeal of fire and blood for its people. They were denied by the basic necessities of life, no food, no shelter and no securities for life. The award of the Punjab Boundary Commission caused much disappointment. The implantation of Muslim refugees and partition’s impact at the regional level i.e. Sargodha Region has been discussed in the fourth chapter. This lengthy process

involving patterns of settlement, institutional integration, commitment boards, building, ventures of joint council and governmental policies-that gave a semblance to streamline the controversial process of massive migration. From the East Punjab the majority of the refugees to Sargodha belonged to Jullandar, Ambala, Ludhiana and district Karnal of Ambala Division and these Muslims majority areas affected more during the riots. Tracing the wave of disturbance in Sargodha division i.e. Sargodha, Khushab, Mianwali and Bhakkar led the investigation of settlement regarding all the sects. Either it was the Muslim refugees from Eastern Punjab who were already miserable and seriously needed to be rescued or it was the case study of local Hindus and Sikhs mourning on the pains of Radcliff award.

The city of Pakistani Punjab, Sargodha, also bore the brunt of the 1947 upheavals. Sargodha was a young city of 40 years and many families had already been settled here from Sialkot, Gujarat, Gujranwala, Jhelum and other parts of the country since its creation in 1903. The settlement of migrated people from India started in 1947 and concluded in 1974. Sargodha was among those cities of the Punjab where the riots were at the lowest level or these riots took place only in the surroundings of the Sargodha. Especially, in the city of Sargodha, no riots were recorded at the time of the partition.

The fifth chapter explained the process of rehabilitation of refugees in Sargodha division. It has two folds: there was an 'urgency status' claimed on the issuance of relief and rehabilitation to the refugees of Punjab that have to be labeled as 'immediate' and 'urgent', secondly, the refugees gained full sympathies within the local community and also among the political parties who were leading those multi-

dimensional mass of displaced refugees. Keeping in account the early formulation of the rehabilitation program, it was a well-organized and well-planned one. While chalking out the phases that constitute the process of rehabilitation three eminent phases are disclosed: evacuation (the early years of partition i-e 1948), the relief measures (the upcoming years of partition i-e 1950), and finally the permanent rehabilitation (eventually done by 1955).

The capitalists Muslims refugee preferred to settle in the small cities like Sargodha, Lyallpur, Jhang and Gujranwala which were quite away from the border area. Seventy three percent of the refugees from India landed in west Punjab making more than 5 million people, constituting one fourth of the population after the process of migration came to an end. For instance, Lahore's 43 percent population is comprised of refugees; the ratio was 49 percent for Multan, 50 percent for Gujranwala, 65 percent for Jhang and 69 percent for both Lyallpur (Faisalabad) and Sargodha. That huge refugee's community was inhibited in west Punjab within a short period of time.

The resettlement and rehabilitation of refugees created many problems. The occupational structure of non-Muslim in Sargodha was completely divergent to that of the Muslim refugees to Sargodha. In Sargodha, at the time of partition, the total villages that occupied by the non-Muslims were 823 and with the settlement policy, they were settled on the evacuated land left by the Hindus and Sikhs. Till the end of March 1948, a total 95,000 refugees settled in the urban area of the Sargodha while, the non-Muslims who evacuated from urban area of Sargodha were 39,000. A total of 85,000 refugees settled in the agricultural rural area of the Sargodha while, about

56,000 non-Muslim refugees evacuated agricultural rural area of the city. The non-Muslims who lived in Sargodha were mostly related to jobs like shopkeepers or related to small business while the Muslims refugees who settled in Sargodha were mostly agriculturist. Several plans were made for the welfare of refugees as the rehabilitation and settlement continued for several years.

The fifth chapter also analyzed the Socio and economic post-independence development in Sargodha Region. It reveals the extent of the refugee impact and how different classes and categories of refugees were accommodated. This study has revealed the multi faced complex and contrasting experiences of a new axiom in development of Sargodha Region since 1947. Due to migration, the economy of West Punjab seriously dislocated as the Hindus and Sikhs who migrated to India were mostly middlemen, clerical officials and shopkeepers. On the other hand, the majority of Muslim refugees which migrated from the East Punjab were poor peasants and they were also not much expert in the field of agriculture. Factories, irrigation service, telegraph system, Banks etc. also disturbed because the majority of non-Muslims who run them had left for their new country. Moreover, the majority of experienced government officials in different fields left for India which also resulted in the collapse of the administrative system of Pakistan. However, Sargodha faced demographic shift and economic transformations at the time of the division of the Punjab. The economic concerns either agricultural or non-agricultural were abandoned or closed because of almost total migration of the non-Muslims to India as they covered all the economic life of Sargodha. When Non-Muslims evacuated, simultaneously, the migration of Muslims started from East Punjab. Like settlements

in the other cities of Punjab, many refugees settled to Sargodha. Sargodha received Muslims refugees double the number of non-Muslims who left it.

No doubt the migration of refugees in Sargodha Region generated new class of work, the new comers had different experiences, different skills in comparison with refugees of India. Various dimensions of refugee settlement in Sargodha are highlighted vigorously in this chapter. The social mix of refugees to the new society had profound impacts on the division. Economics is the back bone of any state, when we estimate the economical developments of a country two key factors are evaluated; Agriculture and Industry. Hence the development of industry in Sargodha division triggered the small scale and medium scale enterprise but large scale industrial revolution was not extended to a mentionable size. After the settlement of agriculturist refugees to Sargodha division, the fertile plains of Sargodha were revolutionized and termed as land mark of green revolution later on.

However, with these administrative problems, the problem of their settlement, clothing, feeding and rehabilitation was also a big task for the nascent government of Pakistan. The government was not established properly at that time. For swift settlement of refugees, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah also supervised the arrangements. Camps were organized in every district to facilitate the refugees which provided clothes and food etc. as they came in. The local population also provided eased by providing them every facility which they could provide.

The goondas and the authorities were turning in glove, and this made extremely a troublesome undertaking for the reclamation of ordinary states of peace and cleaning

of the organization. When the degenerate lawmakers and authorities both much of the time enjoyed misbehaviors, the administration couldn't entirely implement the laws to check the greed and ravenousness of authorities who manhandled their situation to get monetary preferred standpoint. The segment of Punjab gave an extreme hit to the regular town customs. People having a place with the same *biradari* were scattered over various towns and towns in the same and even unique areas, with the outcome that social limitation practiced by the *biradari* was casual. Individuals were constantly outsiders to their neighbors, since every one of them had originated from better places. There was such a great amount of unfriendliness among the displaced person pioneers in a similar town that it in some cases brought about burglaries and kidnapping of ladies in Pakistan.

The nexus between the rich and powerful, the administration and the police was in a path regular in perspective of the gigantic stakes included. Regardless of whether it was the ripeness of law of the circumstance of the agrarian land to be designated or the area of the business properties, the energy of attentiveness that lay in the hands of the re allotment authorities provided for the entire exercise a questionable character. On the other hand the negligible *patwari* was maybe the most persuasive authority on the two sides of the outskirts. Broad dark promoting was accounted for in court understanding stamps and papers. The gigantic weight on the *patwari* who was relied upon to give the vital records of the land to empower designation and afterward to empower the allottees to take real ownership of the land could be better comprehended as far as the quantity of families that should have been distributed land. Muslim refugees from the East Punjab intermixed with the occupants of the West Punjab and those from the West Punjab and the West Punjab States with the

moved individuals of East Punjab. This intermixing of the populace with each other prompted new social advancements. The evacuee's businesspeople extraordinarily expanded the course of merchandise even in the towns.

On the opposite side in the country regions the flight of the non-Muslim groups made the life of villagers dull and dreary. The arrival of Muslim cultivators especially the cost of Arains of Jullundur locale effected of Sargodha Region and for they were dedicated agriculturists who raised valuable yields of vegetables. Distinctive sustenance propensities for the Muslims on the one side, and the Hindus and the Sikhs on the other were regular as the nourishment which was disposed of by one group was savored by the other.

Another blameless casualty of the merciless and fierce partition was the mutual dialect and writing of the general population of pre-segment India. The grandparents and guardians of the present Hindu and Muslim youngsters talked a similar dialect, wrote in a similar content, read similar daily papers, sang similar melodies and shared together their delights and distresses through a typical arrangement of accounts, ceremonies and celebrations, despite the fact that both kept up particular religious and ethnic personalities. The procedure of semantic and social parcel had begun much before the real segment of 1947.

The examination has called attention to in any case that the urban communities' segment related brutality was in no way, shape or form an inescapable result of past collective clash. There were clear divisions set by the inflexibility of standing framework and religion, yet these did not make antagonistic vibe on a broad scale

and groups lived one next to the other with some level of congruity for ages. By the later phases of British control, uplifted religious personalities had, be that as it may, move toward becoming politicized. The elites' utilization of religious slant in their battle for control at the national and common level eventually brought about the division of the Punjab in 1947. The political and group polarization that went with this improvement framed the scenery to the savagery in the two areas.

Refugees were war-torn, exhausted and penniless. They were not skilled enough to raise a living for the survival of their families as they found entirely different environment in Sargodha. Still, the refugees preferred to settle here as Sargodha was a peaceful as well as an agricultural city. The refugees were more skilled in the field of agriculture compared to the inhabitants. Further, they were industrious and hardworking. So, they did their best in uplifting agriculture and marked a new history in this field. It can be analyzed from the fact that Sargodha is now recognized internationally regarding agriculture. In addition, these refugees brought with them a new culture that was alien to the inhabitants of Sargodha. With the passage of time, the culture of refugees got mixed with those of the local inhabitants as both shared the same religion. The modern day culture of Sargodha depicts the diffused culture of both the refugees and the Locals.

It is very astonishing to note that despite the presence of Muslim leaders, public office holders and locals, the migrated Muslims were looted and exploited and the major task of settlement remained unresolved. The already worsened situation of settlement was further aggravated by the Local-refugees conflict. It is now felt that the countless sacrifices rendered by our forefathers nothing produced anything good

except for a piece of land. Before the partition, there was only the Hindu-Muslim communal problem. After the arrival of refugees, the communal problems started to arise among the Muslims like sectarianism as depicted by Shias-Sunni conflict and like provincialism as shown by Sindhis, Balochis, Punjabis and Pakhtuns. At the time of united India, there was Hindi-Urdu controversy and here in cities like Sargodha, there is a problem of dialect in the languages spoken by the locals and the refugees. In short, the magnitude of problems remained the same.

Observing the horrors of migration they undoubtedly helped refugees to come out of their deteriorated states of minds. They helped them push out from the wells of dejection, sorrows and isolation not only morally but economically as well. They provided them with all the available resources and played a very appreciable role in the rehabilitation of refugees. But the post partition role of refugees in this regard is mixed and doubtful, since years they are still feeling the social mix as an avoidable phenomenon. They assume themselves as all time refugees. The shift from refugees to citizens in the society of Pakistan is craving to be treated vigorously.

The refugees and the locals who are still alive are not ready to mix up with each other as they have witnessed the barbarities with their own eyes. However, the young generation is optimistic and free of prejudices as the literacy level has gone up. It is observed that the prejudices that exist in the minds of the locals and the refugees are less evident in the urban area of Sargodha compare to rural ones. The reason is that the literacy level in urban area is much higher than rural areas. Secondly, the urban life is a much busier life compared to that of stagnant rural life. Education played an important role in plugging the gap existed in them. The new generation is a crystal

clear example of this cultural unity. Islam does not dictate a partition based on some monetary needs but to avoid the atrocities of infidels. In addition, it does not say to find faults with the culture of other people. However, during the middle of the twentieth century, the future of the Muslims of subcontinent was at stake. Furthermore, the objective of Pakistan was not to ensure a separate piece of land for Muslims but to protect their politico-religious and socio-economic values.



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Interviews

Aflatoon, village Hadali, Khushab, 23 April 2017.

(He was migrated from East Punjab. First he was stayed at camps then he was settled at Sargodha division. He is well known about the situation in the Refugee's Camp at the time of partition.

Advocate Malik Ghazanfar Khalid Saeed, Central Record Office, Lahore, 12 July, 2016.

(He is very well known advocate at Central Record office, Lahore. He pleaded all the case related to land allotted to the refugees.)

Advocate Farkhanda Jabeen, District Court Sargodha, 08 June 2016

(She is doing her job at District Court, Sargodha. I am much thank full to her, for helping me in access to all the office related to settlement)

Advocate Shahbaz Bajwa, Shahbaz Bajwa, District Court Sargodha, 08 June 2016.

(He is doing his job at District Court, Sargodha. I am also thank full to him, for helping me in access to all the office related to settlement)

Asif Shahzad Maiken, Babu Mohallah, Sargodha 26 June 2016.

(Asif Sahahzad Maiken is a Police officer in District Police, Sargodha, His father was *patwari* at the time of partition, and he told me many stories of settlement which was told by his father.

Allah Yar, *Chak* 61 DB, Bhakkar, 13 June 2016

(Allah yar is living in these days at Bhakkar. He told me that at the time of partition there were no riots accrued and they lived very peacefully.)

Alam Sher, Jahuarabad, 13 September 2017.

(Jauharabad is an old city of Sargodha, the people who lived here are much familiar with the old custom, tradition and they loved the old memories)

Amer Ali, Khushab, 13 September 2017.

(Jauharabad is an old city of Sargodha, the people who lived here are much familiar with the old custom, tradition and they loved the old memories)

Asif Walah, *Chak* 87 NB, Sargodha, 16 September 2017.

(Asif Walah is an Engineer and a very good personality. He shifted to Italy but he loved to live in his old village because of culture. During his visit to Sargodha we discussed the culture that effected after partition)

Asif Nawaz, New Satellite Town, 1st September 2017.

(Asif Nawaz is a doctor in profession. He is very well known about the history of Sargodha. His forefather shifted here when the Sargodha was established in 1903)

Abubakkar Sheikh, New Satellite Town, Sargodha, 20 August 2017.

(He was also migrated from District Gujrat due to British Policies of land allotment for the development of Sargodha in 1906, with his forefathers, he is also aware of *Ghori Pall* Scheme introduced by the British)

Adul Razzaq, New Satellite Town, Sargodha, 27 November, 2017.

(He is my maternal Uncle, He was migrated from District Sialkot due to British Policies of land allotment with his forefathers, he is aware of *Ghori Pall* Scheme introduced by the British)

Bahawal Khan, Village Aadhi Kot, Khushab, 23 April 2017

(He was migrated from East Punjab. First he was stayed at camps then he was settled at Sargodha division. He is well known about the situation in the Refugee's Camp at the time of partition.

Fayyaz Hussain, Shahpur College, Sargodha, 12 September 2017

(An old man that I have met in Shahpur College, Shahpur. He has a good grip about our custom and language spoken in the district)

Farooq Ahmad, Shahpur College, Sargodha, 12 September 2017

(An old man that I have met in Shahpur College, Shahpur. He has a good grip about our custom and language spoken in the district)

Fazal Hussain, Shahpur Sadar, 12 September 2017

(He is the resident of Shahpur, Shahpur is an old city. He is well know about the language that spoken in the District.)

Ghulam Rasool, Shahpur Sadar, 12 September 2017

(He is the resident of Shahpur, Shahpur is an old city. He is well know about the language that spoken in the District.)

Ghulam Jannat, City Bhakkar, 13 June 2016

(She is living in these days at Bhakkar. He told me that at the time of partition there were no riots accrued and they lived very peacefully)

Ghazanfar Ali, Officer Colony, Sargodha, 22 March 2018.

(He is a well know personality in his village, the land that is under his possession was allotted to his forefathers by the British, he is aware of *Ghori Pall* Scheme introduced by the British)

Hadayat Ali, Block No. 4 Sargodha, 27 August 2016.

(He is living with his family in this Block before the partition, the families who are living in the Block is well knowing about Block's Contractions or development in Sargodha)

Hakeem Amjad, Fazal Town, Sargodha, 13 August 2017.

(He was also migrated from District Gujrat due to British Policies of land allotment for the development of Sargodha in 1906, they are still called Abadkar (settler) in Sargodha)

Hakeem Mehmood ul Hassan, Katchery Bazar, Sargodha, 5 June 2016.

(Hakeem Mehmood ul Hassan is running an *Desi* Dispensary, His father was eye witness of the arrival of moments and he told that his father also accommodate many refugees with food and other item)

Hakeem Hafiz Noor Muhammad Ghahi, Bhakkar, 13 June 2016.

(Hakeem Hafiz Noor Muhammad is living in these days at Bhakkar. He told me that at the time of partition there were no riots accrued and they lived very peacefully)

Karamat Hussain, Shahpur Sardar, 12 September 2017.

(He is the resident of Shahpur, Shahpur is an old city. He is well know about the language that spoken in the District.)

Karamat Ali, *Chak* 88 N.B, Sargodha, 15 February 2017

(He was also migrated from District Gujrat due to British Policies of land allotment for the development of Sargodha in 1906)

Nisar Fatima, Bhakkar, 13 June 2016.

(She was migrated from East Punjab. First she was stayed at camps then she was settled at Sargodha division. She is well known about the situation in the Refugee's Camp at the time of partition.

Naib Tehsildar Malik Fayyaz Hussain, Office of Naib Tehsildar (Sadar), 15 June 2017.

(He is Naib Tehsildar at Sarodha, He helped me while sorting the related files in his office, he is also hear the matters arising from settlement policies)

Noor Muhammad, *Chak* 88 N.B, Sargodha 15 February 2017.

(He was also migrated from District Gujrat due to British Policies of land allotment for the development of Sargodha in 1906)

Noor Muhammad Lali, near village Laliyan, Sargodha, 18 May 2017.
(He was also migrated from District Gujrat due to British Policies of land allotment for the development of Sargodha in 1906, they are still called Abadkar (settler) in Sargodha)

Muhammad Bakhsh, Shahpur College, Sargodha, 12 September 2017.
(An old man that I have met in Shahpur College, Shahpur. He has a good grip about our custom and language spoken in the district)

Mian Ahmad, Block No. 4 Sargodha, 27 August 2016.
(His is living in Block (the old colonies in Sargodha). He is well known about the pattern of Construction in these Blocks.)

Mian Ali, Block No. 4 Sargodha, 27 August 2016.
(His is living in Block (the old colonies in Sargodha). He is well known about the pattern of Construction in these Blocks.)

Makhdoom Shahbaz, District Court, Sargodha, 8 June 2016.
(He is the Incharge at Office of the Settlement and Rehabilitation Branch at Sargodha, however this branch is not working, he only kept the record)

Mansoor Ahmad, Block No. 8 Sargodha, 27 August 2016.
(He is living with his family in this Block before the partition, the families who are living in the Block is well knowing about Block's Contractions or development in Sargodha)

Malik Farooq, Block No. 8 Sargodha, 27 August 2016
(He is living with his family in this Block before the partition, the families who are living in the Block is well knowing about Block's Contractions or development in Sargodha)

Mudassar Iqbal, Shah Muhammad Colony, Sargodha, 13 May 2017.
(He was also migrated from District Gujranwala due to British Policies of land allotment for the development of Sargodha in 1906, with his forefathers, he is also aware of *Ghori Pall* Scheme introduced by the British)

Malik Allah Ditta, Shahpur, 12 September 2017.
(He is the resident of Shahpur, Shahpur is an old city. He is well know about the language that spoken in the District.)

Malik Khuda Bakhsh, Shahpur, 12 September 2017.
(He is the resident of Shahpur, Shahpur is an old city. He is well know about the language that spoken in the District.)

Muhammad Hafeez, Block A, Sargodha, 14 September 2017.
(He is living in old place of Sargodha and he has a vide knowledge about the history, traditions and custom of the city)

Mian Awais, Shahpur, 12 September 2018

(He is the resident of Shahpur, Shahpur is an old city. He is well know about the language that spoken in the District.)

Mian Akram, Shahpur, 12 September 2017.

(He is the resident of Shahpur, Shahpur is an old city. He is well know about the language that spoken in the District.)

Muhammad Ehsan, Assistant Commissioner Office, Sargodha, 08 June 2016.

(Muhammad Ehsan is the Office Superintendent of the Assistant Commissioner of Sargodha District. Assistant Commissioner is the head of all the land related matter, Muhammad Ehsan is well know about the Village & towns in Sargodha division)

Mian Ahmad Bakhsh, Chak No. 30 NB, Sargodha, 15 February 2018

(Chak No.30 with surrounding Villages are much famous as these villages are called Refugee's village. Mian Ahmad Bakhsh is well known about the situation at camp at the time of partition)

Malik Ghulam Muhammad, Hadali, Khushab, 23 April 2017.

(He migrated from the East Punjab, the policy of land allotted to refugees was that, first the land was verified on claim then after verification the land was allotted to the refugees.)

Muhammad Gulzar, Rang Pur, Khusab, 23 April, 2017

(Muhammad Gulzar now a days living in District Khushab of Sardodha Division. He was the eye witness of the process of settlement. During interview on 23 April 2017 he told me that first he was settled in Sind Province, but due to the settlement problem I further decided to go back to Punjab and then I was settled in District Khusab.

Muhammad Nawaz, Bhakkar, 13 June 2016

(He is living in these days at Bhakkar. He told me that at the time of partition there were no riots accrued and they lived very peacefully)

Prof. Badar, New Satellite Town, Sargodha, 1st September, 2017.

(Prof Badar is a Professor in government Ambala College, Sargodha, As the name "Ambala", it is the district in East Punjab. Many refugee from District Ambala settled here in Sargodha District, on their arrival the name of one school and college was named as "Ambala Muslim high School" and "Ambala Muslim College, Sargodah)

Prof. Tanveer Hussain, Shahpur College, Shahpur, 12 September 2017

(Prof. Tanveer Hussain is a professor in government College at Shahpur, he is well know about the old customs)

Prof. Ali Zaib, Block A, Sargodha, 14 September 2017.

(Prof. Ali Zaib has a good command on the history of Sargodha. We have a good discussion on the history of Sargodha with Prof. Ghulam Haidar)

Prof. Ghulam Haidar, Block A, Sargodha, 14 September 2017.
(Prof. Ghulam Haidar has a good command on the history of Sargodha. We have a good discussion on the history of Sargodha with Prof. Ali Zaib)

Prof. Ali Hussain, Iqra Academy, Sargodha, 15 September 2017.
(Prof. Ali Hussain is the professor of English in Iqra Academy Sargodha, he is much interested in history of Sargodha, and at the time of interview we discussed the culture and tradition of Sargodha that had effected or impact in Sargodha)

Rashid Bajwa, Chak 87 NB, Sargodha, 16 September 2017.
(Rashid Bajwa is a business man and has his plaza at university road, Sargodha. He shifted from his village to Sargodha city. However he is well know about the process of rehabilitation in Sargodha)

Rana Muhammad Sarwar, Chak No. 30 NB, Sargodha, 15 February 2018.
(Chak No.30 with surrounding Villages are much famous as these villages are called Refugee's village. Mian Ahmad Bakhsh is well known about the situation at camp at the time of partition)

Rana Muhammad Aslam, Chak No. 30 NB, Sargodha, 15 February 2018.
(Chak No.30 with surrounding Villages are much famous as these villages are called Refugee's village. Mian Ahmad Bakhsh is well known about the situation at camp at the time of partition)

Rana Muhammad Wakeel, Hadali, Khushab, 23 April 2017.
(They were migrated from the East Punjab, the policy of land allotted to refugees was that, first the land was verified on claim then after verification the land was allotted to the refugees, the same procedure they had faced at the time of settlement in Sargodha division)

Rana Qadir Mehmood, Aadhi Kot, Khushab, 23 April 2017
(He migrated from the East Punjab, the policy of land allotted to refugees was that, first the land was verified on claim then after verification the land was allotted to the refugees.)

Rana Muhammad Umar, Hadali, Khushab, 23 April 2017
(He migrated from the East Punjab, the policy of land allotted to refugees was that first the land was verified on claim then after verification the land was allotted to the refugees. He was also gone through this procedure.

Rehmat Ullah Hayat Colony, Bhalwal, Sargodha, 3 September 2016.
(He is the owner of the Agricultural Land in Bhalwal Tehsil, Bhalwal Tehsil is very famous for the Citrus Food in Sargodha District.)

Shamsher Ahmad, Shahpur, 12 September 2018
(He is the resident of Shahpur, Shahpur is an old city. He is well know about the language that spoken in the District.)

Saddique Alam, Jauharabad, 13 September 2017
(Jauharabad is an old city of Sargodha, the people who lived here are much familiar with the old custom, tradition and they loved the old memories)

Suleman Ahmad, Block A, Sargodha, 14 September 2017.
(Suleman Ahmad living in old place of Sargodha and he has a vide knowledge about the history, traditions and custom of the city)

Sheik Khalid, Chak No. 30 NB, Sargodha, 15 February 2018.
(Chak No.30 with surrounding Villages are much famous as these villages are called Refugee's village. Mian Ahmad Bakhsh is well known about the situation at camp at the time of partition)

Sahibzada Abdul Rasool, Officer Colony, Sargodha 12 July 2017.
(Shaibzada Abdul Rasool is the writer of book "The History of Sargodha", He was professor at University of Sargodha in History Department and he was the eyewitness of the settlement of the Refugees. He himself settled many refugees)

Sheikh Hussain, Block No. 8 Sargodha, 27 August 2016
(He is living with his family in this Block before the partition, the families who are living in the Block is well knowing about Block's Contractions or development in Sargodha)

Sheikh Amjad, Block No. 8 Sargodha, 27 August 2016.
(He is living with his family in this Block before the partition, the families who are living in the Block is well knowing about Block's Contractions or development in Sargodha)

Taj Muhammad, Chahk No. 88N.B, Sargodha, 15 February 2017.
(He was also migrated from District Gujrat due to British Policies of land allotment for the development of Sargodha in 1906, they are still called Abadkar (settler) in Sargodha.)

Usman Tajamal, Chak No. 10 Bhalwal, Sargodha, 3 September 2016.
(He is the owner of the Agricultural Land in Bhalwal Tehsil, Bhalwal Tehsil is very famous for the Citrus Food in Sargodha District.)

Waqas Ahmad Goraya, Hayat Colony, Bhalwal, Sargodha, 3 September 2016.
(He is the owner of the Agricultural Land in Bhalwal Tehsil, Bhalwal Tehsil is very famous for the Citrus Food in Sargodha District.)

Zain ul Abdin, Chak No. 10 Bhalwal, Sargodha, 3 September 2016.
(He is the owner of the Agricultural Land in Bhalwal Tehsil, Bhalwal Tehsil is very famous for the Citrus Food in Sargodha District.)

Zahid Proya, Chak 57 N.B Sargodha, 8 June, 2017.
(He was migrated from District Gujrat due to British Policies of land allotment for the development of Sargodha in 1906.)

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Interviews Guide

Interviews with refugees of Partition-related events in Sargodha division

1. Please introduce yourself.
2. How were your overall relations with other religious before partition of India?
3. Did you feel scared while being a minority in a Hindu/Sikh majority area?
4. Was there any stress in relationship between Hindu/Sikh Vs Muslims? If yes when this stress at peak?
5. Did you or your relatives/locality people participate in the disturbances?
6. What about your feelings when Pakistan came into being whether you personally or other members of your locality took part in Pakistan movement?
7. Were you hopeful in 1947 about your immigration, if yes then when you got the information about the migration for example after the departure of the British or after the declaration of boundary commission or due to ethnic violence?
8. Where did you migrate from India?
9. How did you cross the border?
10. On the way to Pakistan if you were attacked by other communities? Can you describe any member of your family injured/killed/kidnapped or murdered?
11. Why did you settle in Sargodha division?
12. Did you go to some other place when you arrived in Sargodha division? Initially were you settle in a refugee camp, or with relatives, or in a property evacuated by Hindus and Sikhs?

13. If you were in a refugee camp, how long was it before your family were resettled? What were the name and the location of the camp? Could you describe life as a refugee in a camp?
14. Did you have connections with Sargodha division before partition?
15. How were your traditions affected?
16. Did the flight of Hindus and Sikhs advantage you? i-e. Did it give new monetary chances to set up a business? How could you begin and to what extent did it take to set up your very own business?
17. Does your family still talk about the events of August 1947?
18. Did you put in a 'guarantee' for remuneration/ claim' for compensation?
19. What was your relationship with local residents after your arrival? Has this changed since then?
20. How have Sargodha division changed since 1947?
21. What work did you do after migrating?
22. How long did it take to adjust to your new life in Pakistan?
23. Did you ever feel that you would return back home?
24. Did you continue your old family occupation, or would it say it was another region for you?
25. Did you have any assistance in starting up your business? i-e. government loan, private loans, kinship support?
26. What contribution do you feel refugees/local artisans have made for Sargodha division development since 1947?
27. Did you think that the whole process was completed smoothly especially settlement? Reason?

28. What's your contribution to the development of Sargodha division?
29. What are your personal views about rehabilitation?

Interviews with local people of Partition-related events in Sargodha division

1. Please introduce yourself.
2. What about your relations with other communities before partition of Indian in 1947? Did you feel comfortable with their customs and ceremonies?
3. Was there any stress in relationship between Hindu/Sikh Vs Muslims? If yes when this stress at peak?
4. Did you witness anything yourself? If so, could you describe this?
5. Did you help other religious communities' people during the disturbances and Migration in your locality?
6. Described your feelings when partition of Pakistan was announced? Either you or your relative participated in Pakistan Movement?
7. How were your traditions affected?
8. Does your family still talk about the events of August 1947?
9. Are you still living in the same accommodation or locality you first established?
10. What was your relationship with refugees after their arrival? Had this changed since then?
11. How have Sargodha division changed since 1947 after the arrival of refugees?
12. Did you have any business links with the city/locality before partition?
13. What contribution do you feel refugees/local artisans have made for Sargodha division development since 1947?

14. What was your contribution in establishing the refugees?
15. Keeping in view the problems of refugees, did you force the government to allocate land etc for refugee's settlement?
16. What's refugee's impact in the development of Sargodha division?
17. Do you feel that there is still a gap between you and refugees?
18. Who is responsible for this gap?
19. What do you think about the contribution of refugees in the socio-economic life of Sargodha?

Interviews with government officer or their followers who were responsible for implementation Partition-related events in Sargodha division

1. What is your name?
2. What was your assignment at that time of partition?
3. How you deal the settlement policy?
4. Did you find that these policies were fully implemented?
5. What was the condition of refugees at that time?
6. Do you think that these policies were the fully beneficiary for the people?
7. What is the main structure of the policy?
8. Were these policies different for every province?
9. What was the further effect of these policies on the refugees?
10. Were the local people helping the government officer during implementation?
11. You feel any difficulty while applying the settlement policy?

Appendix B

Jawaharlal Nehru, Lord Mountbatten and Quaid-i-Azam at the time of Partition of India, 1947



Source:-

https://www.google.com/search?q=partition+of+india+picture&rlz=1C1NHXL_enPK701PK702&tbn=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj11pqap5TeAhVJuY8KHS_KBusQsAR6BAgEEAE retrieved on 18 October, 2018.

Appendix C

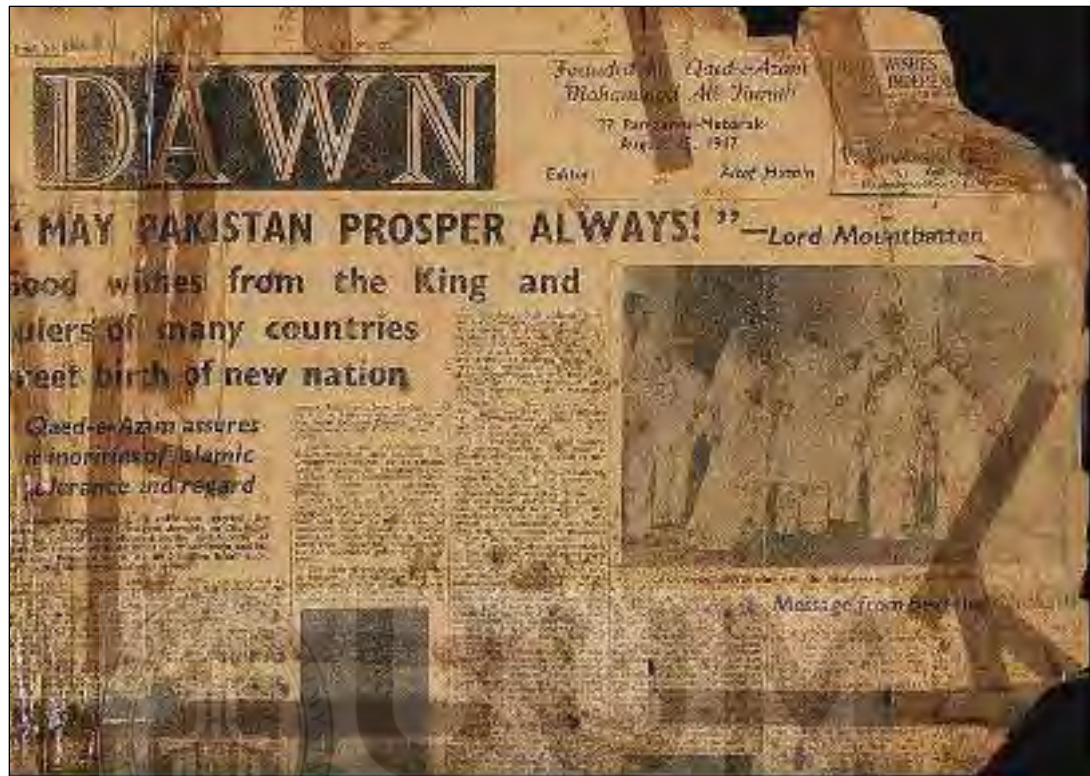
All India Muslim League working committee at work, 1946



Source:- "All India Muslim League working committee at work", *The Statesman*, 6 June 1946, pp. 1.

Appendix D

News of Creating of Pakistan on 15 August 1947 in Dawn Newspaper, 1947



Source: "May Pakistan Prosper Always!", *Dawn*, 15 August 1947, pp. 1

Appendix E

Quaid-i-Azam shaking hands with the prominent person, after being sworn in as Governor General of Pakistan, 1947



Source: “Quaid-i-Azam shaking hands with the prominent person, after being sworn in as Governor General of Pakistan, 1947, *The Pakistan Times*, 22 August, 1947, pp. 1.

Appendix F

Riots in 1947



Source:-

https://www.google.com/search?q=partition+of+india+picture&rlz=1C1NHXL_enPK701PK702&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj11pqap5TeAhVJuY8KHS_KBusQsAR6BAgEEAE retrieved on 18 October, 2018.

Appendix G

Riots in 1947



Source:-

https://www.google.com/search?q=partition+of+india+picture&rlz=1C1NHXL_enPK701PK702&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj11pqap5TeAhVJuY8KHS_KBusQsAR6BAgEEAE retrieved on 18 October, 2018.

Appendix H

Migration of Refugees, 1947



Source:-

https://www.google.com/search?q=partition+of+india+picture&rlz=1C1NHXL_enPK701PK702&tbn=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj11pqap5TeAhVJuY8KHS_KBusQsAR6BAgEEAE retrieved on 18 October, 2018.

Appendix I

Migration on foot, 1947



Source:-

https://www.google.com/search?q=partition+of+india+picture&rlz=1C1NHXL_enPK701PK702&tbn=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj11pqap5TeAhVJuY8KHS_KBusQsAR6BAgEEAE retrieved on 18 October, 2018.

Appendix J

Refugees in Camps, 1947



Source:-

https://www.google.com/search?q=partition+of+india+picture&rlz=1C1NHXL_enPK701PK702&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj11pqap5TeAhVJuY8KHS_KBusQsAR6BAgEEAE retrieved on 18 October, 2018.

Appendix K

Refugees waiting for settlement, 1947



Source:-

https://www.google.com/search?q=partition+of+india+picture&rlz=1C1NHXL_enPK701PK702&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj11pqap5TeAhVJuY8KHS_KBusQsAR6BAGEEAE retrieved on 18 October, 2018.

Appendix L

Miserable condition of Refugees, 1947

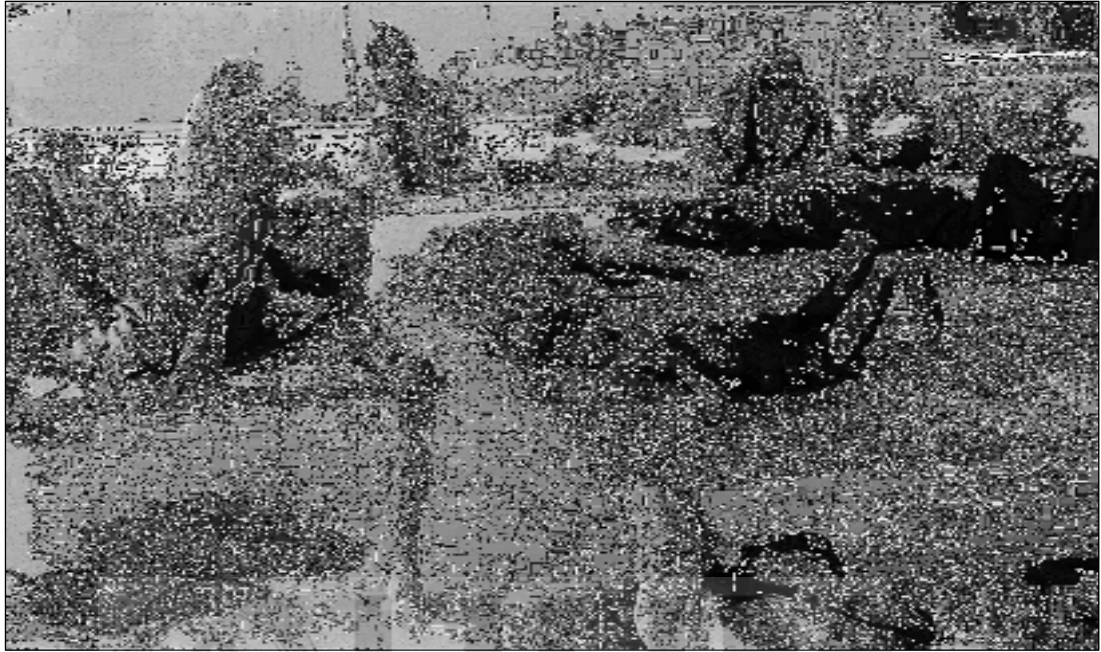


Source:-

https://www.google.com/search?q=partition+of+india+picture&rlz=1C1NHXL_enPK701PK702&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj11pqap5TeAhVJuY8KHS_KBusQsAR6BAgEEAE retrieved on 18 October, 2018.

Appendix M

Miserable condition of Refugees, 1947

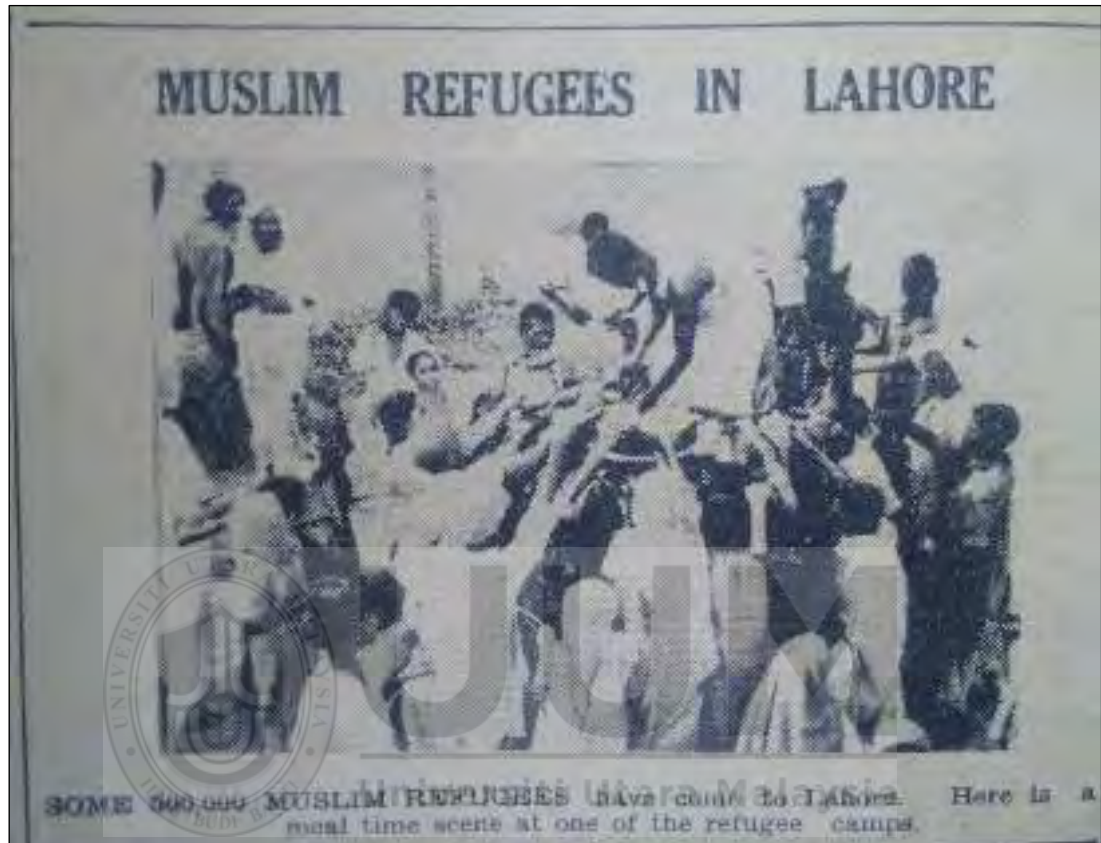


Source:-

https://www.google.com/search?q=partition+of+india+picture&rlz=1C1NHXL_enPK701PK702&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj1pqap5TeAhVJuY8KHS_KBusQsAR6BAgEEAE retrieved on 18 October, 2018.

Appendix N

Some 500,000 Muslim Refugees have come to Lahore, Here is a meal time scene at one of the refugee camps, 1947.



Source:- "Muslim Refugees in Lahore", *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 5 September 1947, pp. 8

Appendix O

The Governor of West Punjab (Sir Francis Mudie) discussing the refugee problem with the Hon. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din (Refugee Minister) and other minister and officials, 1947



Source: “The Governor of West Punjab (Sir Francis Mudie) discussing the refugee problem with the Hon. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din (Refugee Minister) and other minister and officials”, *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 27 September 1947, pp. 12

Appendix P

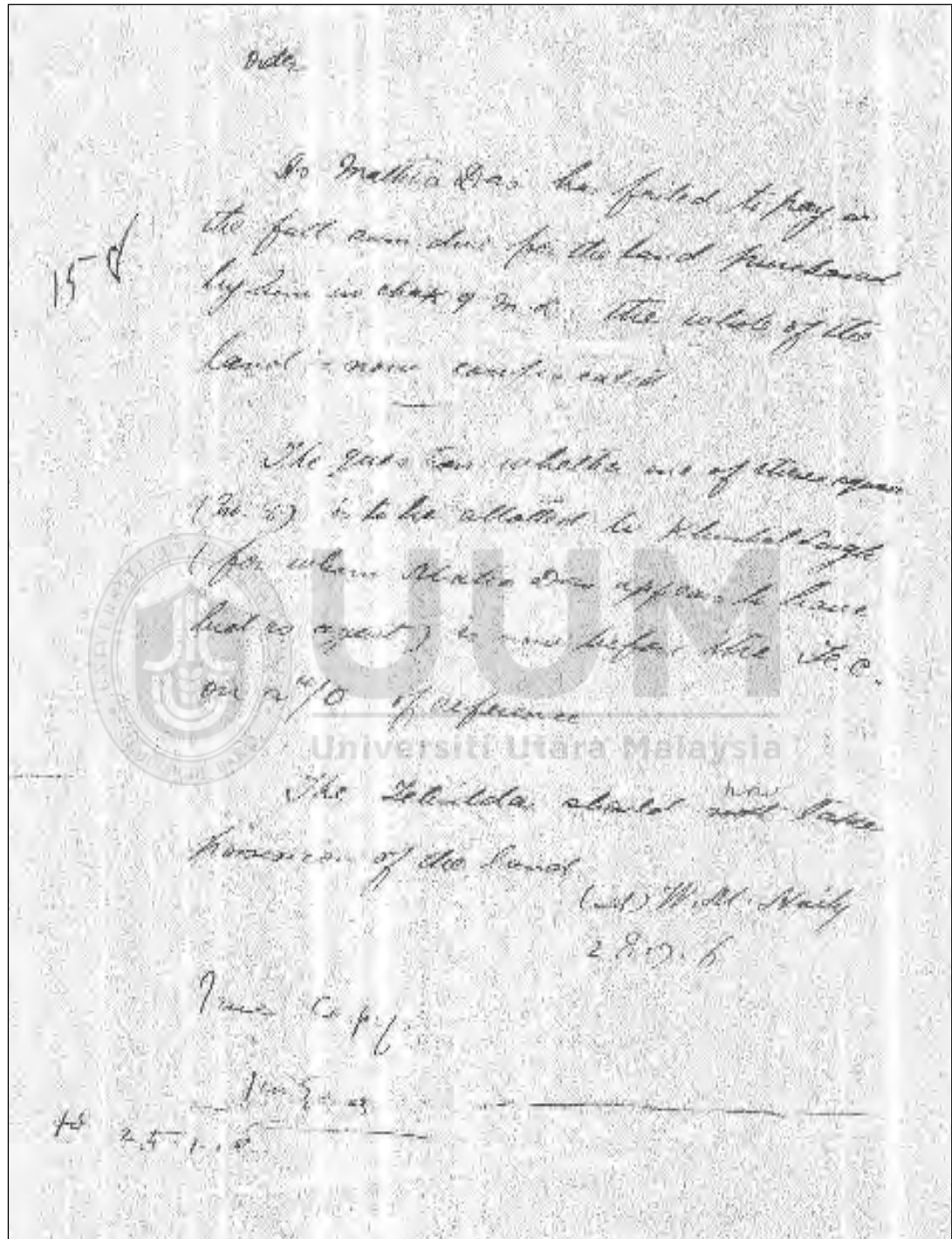
Patwaris is verifying the land record claimed by Refugees, 1949



Source:- “Patwaris at work”, *The Civil & Military Gazette*, 7 January 1949, pp. 13.

Appendix Q

Allotment Order of Land Issued By Lord Mailcom Hailey in Sargodha year 1906



Source:- Office of the Naib Tehsildar (Sadar), District Sargodha

Appendix R

A Provisional Transfer Order (PTO) was issued to MSt Ghulam Fatima in Sargodha, 1961.



Source:- Letter No. 344454 dated 01 January 1961, office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha.

Appendix S

Agricultural land allotted to Refugees in *Chak* No. 25 SB Sargodha, record in register RL/II of Settlement Branch, Sargodha, 1947.

[illegible]

Source:- Office of the Settlement & Rehabilitation Branch, Sargodha.

Appendix T

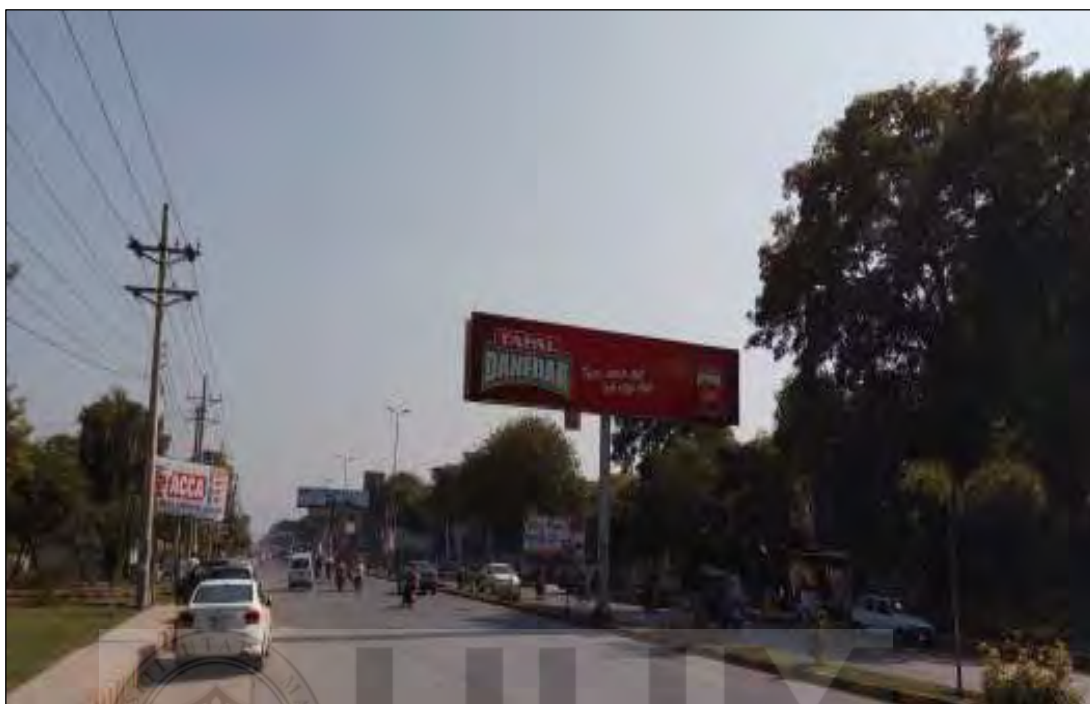
Bazzar in District Sargodha, 2018



Source:- Researcher's Collection, February 2018.

Appendix U

University Road, Sargodha, 2018



Source:- Researcher's Collection, February 2018.



Appendix V

Soon Valley, District Khushab, 2018



Source:- Researcher's Collection, February 2018.

Appendix W

Khushab bazaar, Jhelum gate, Khushab, 2018



Source:- Researcher's Collection, February 2018.



Appendix X

Mianwali Railway Station, Mianwali, 2018



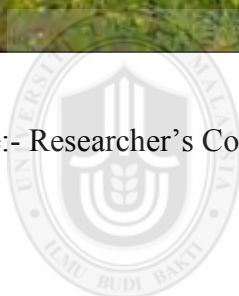
Source:- Researcher's Collection, February 2018.

Appendix Y

Sikandarabad, Mianwali, 2018



Source:- Researcher's Collection, February 2018.



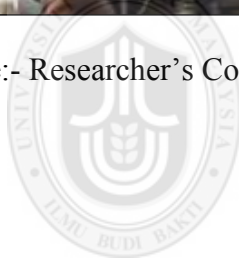
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Appendix Z

Main Bazr, Bhakakr, 2018



Source:- Researcher's Collection, February 2018.



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Appendix ZZ

Thal of Bhakakr, Bhakakr, 2018



Source:- Researcher's Collection, February 2018.